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LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION  
IN THE CHURCHES OF HONOLULU, HAWAII

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A Dissertation  
Presented to  
the Faculty of the  
School of Theology at Claremont

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Religion

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by

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### I. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

The churches of Honolulu, Hawaii, unique in ethnic and cultural setting, face common problems of social action and a mutual challenge to the creative use of conflict. This study seeks to determine what is and what should be the strategy of church leadership for social action by focusing upon the churches of Honolulu.

The idea for the study began when the author was serving as the Executive Director of the Honolulu Council of Churches from 1957 to 1959. This was the time when the great dream of Hawaii's people for statehood was being fulfilled. This was the time when the social and political implications of the Islands' multi-ethnic population became the concern of mainland leaders, particularly those in the South. This was the time of a major strike in the Island sugar industry, and mainland business interests realized the vulnerability of the new state to labor-management conflict. This was the time when the radical right was meeting with its greatest response in the Southwest and in Southern California. Island conservatives conducted a School of Anti-Communism to awaken Hawaii to what they believe are the dangers of left-wing activities. Ethnic integration, labor-management problems, extremism - right and left, these are the foci of Island social concern. Thus they are vital areas for social action on the part of Hawaii's churches.

But the social action of Island churches in these and other areas of conflict has not been consistent. At times the concerted efforts of Christian and non-Christian groups have had a definite impact upon community life. In other situations, the voices of churches and church people have simply parroted decisions and attitudes already determined by majority forces in the community. Yet the lack of strategy and tactics for creative leadership in the resolution of social conflict is not peculiar to churches in Hawaii. Some hold that this is the distinguishing characteristic of churches everywhere in what they believe to be the "post-Christian era." Because of their missionary heritage and a tradition of community involvement, the denominational and inter-faith cooperation that their insularity makes necessary, and the liberalizing tendencies of the cosmopolitan culture in which they present the Gospel, Hawaii's churches may have greater opportunity than any others for the development of significant social action.

### II. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

It seemed to the author that a primary concern, not only in his approach to the subject but in the churches' understanding of effective strategy in dealing with community conflict, must be of the nature of social action in the church. The first portion of the study centers on the theological, ethical and practical implications of the church and social action. It seemed necessary, then, to sketch the history of the church in Hawaii, give a picture of denominational strengths, and try briefly to place the church in its present social, political and economic setting.

Basic to any evaluation of strategy would be the opinion of those who are actually giving leadership to churches and denominations. For this reason the study next moves to a summary of views as to what is and what ought to be social action leadership and strategy for Hawaii's churches as drawn from questionnaires, personal interviews and correspondence with Honolulu ministers, lay leaders, denominational and council of churches' executives, the rabbi of the Jewish community and Buddhist priests and laymen.

The major portion of the dissertation is then given to a study of the three areas of social conflict already delineated as of particular importance to the people and thus to the churches of the Islands. The nature of labor-management conflict, the role of the church in its resolution, and the churches of Hawaii and industrial peace are dealt with first. The phenomenon of extremism is the second major concern. The church and extremist conflict is explored, and an evaluation of Island church leadership and strategy in the resolution of a particular conflict situation is made. The third area of social concern is that of ethnic integration. Hawaii's "racial revolution" is not drawn in the colors of black and white, nor is it something new to the last decade. The Island "melting pot" has characterized integration in Hawaii for 100 years, and the churches of Hawaii reflect and refract this racial harmony. Honolulu ministers and laymen, however, feel that much can be done to further resolve ethnic conflict.

Each of these chapters concludes with suggested techniques and strategy for social action that have proven effective for ministers, local congregations, denominations, councils of churches and

inter- and intra-faith leaders. What Honolulu churches are and are not doing to resolve conflict in these three areas according to minister and layman opinion is then summarized. Though the focus is upon Protestant congregations and leaders in one city as they deal with particular social concerns, the opinions and conclusions may be applicable to all churches as they seek to take effective social action in these or in any areas of conflict. The appendices contain the questionnaire with which the survey of opinion was made and the letters that accompanied it.<sup>1</sup>

### III. METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

The study was begun with as wide reading as possible in the areas of social action and the church, group leadership in conflict resolution, the church and labor-management problems, encounter with extremist groups, and inter-racial and inter-ethnic integration. In order to determine what social action was taking place in Hawaii and what Island ministers and lay-leaders felt was effective leadership and strategy for the church, the questionnaire was sent to ministers and elected lay-chairmen of all Protestant churches in Honolulu and of independent churches that have in any way cooperated in inter-denominational or inter-faith activities. Though the author is disappointed that he did not receive a 100% reply, the fact that of those contacted 54% of the ministers and 34% of the laymen responded with answers indicative of thoughtful concern has been reason to believe that such a study might be of practical help to church and denominational leaders. The only access to lay-chairmen was

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendices A, B and C

through the local pastor. The fact that only 34% of the laymen responded may have been due to the burden on ministers not only to answer their own questionnaires but to send a second copy on to their lay leaders. As is shown in Table I, the response by denomination is generally in fair proportion to the number of churches of each denomination in Honolulu. In the case of Presbyterians, Friends, Disciples of Christ and the independent churches, having only one or two congregations, the response was excellent, though to draw generalizations would be unwise. The same could be said of the Jewish Community which has only one synagogue. Though there are many Buddhist temples in Honolulu, questionnaires could only be sent to the small number of English-speaking priests from whom a 40% reply was received. Where the number of questionnaires sent was small, percentage of reply has little significance for comparative purposes. For the three largest groups the percentage of ministerial reply was for the United Church 45%; Methodist 86%; Episcopal 42%. For laymen, percentages were for the United Church 35%; Methodist 36%; Episcopal 22%. This indicates that Methodist ministers were somewhat over-represented and Episcopal laymen somewhat under-represented.

Personal interviews were held with the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Honolulu, the Executive Secretary of the Hawaii Conference of the United Church of Christ and the Executive Director of the Honolulu Council of Churches. A response to the questionnaire was received from the Superintendent of The Hawaii Mission of the Methodist Church. Thus the opinions of major denominational and inter-denominational leadership could be contrasted with opinions of the leadership of local

TABLE I  
RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRE

Denomination	MINISTERS		LAYMEN	
	Questionnaires Sent	Answers Received	Questionnaires Sent	Answers Received
United Church	31	14	26	9
Methodist	14	12	14	5
Episcopal	19	8	18	4
Presbyterian	3	2	3	2
Baptist	5	4	2	1
Lutheran	7	3	7	2
Disciples	3	2	3	1
Friends	0	0	2	2
Salvation Army	2	1	2	1
Adventists	2	1	2	1
Unitarian	1	0	1	0
Independents				
Central Oahu				
Christian	1	1	1	0
First Community	1	1	1	0
Bethel Fellowship	1	1	1	0
New Era Community	1	0	1	0
Korean Christian	1	0	1	0
Wahiawa Korean	1	0	1	0
Jewish	1	1	8	5
Buddhist	5	2	5	1
TOTALS	99	53	99	34

churches. If influence can in any way be equated with size of congregation, it is the author's contention that most of the influential church leadership in Hawaii is represented in the survey.

However the data gathered from the questionnaires is used only as a clue to general opinions of clergy and laymen and is not presented as definitive in any way. It has been difficult not to draw conclusions from the statistical trends that have appeared to the author. For example, it seems significant that no lay leader of an independent church returned the questionnaire. Recalling the conclusion of the Campbell and Pettigrew study of Little Rock ministers that in the smaller churches with more transient congregations the minister is in a special sense the church, one would suspect that Honolulu's independent pastors did not send questionnaires to laymen, assuming that the answers would be the same as their own. This kind of speculation has been reluctantly avoided except where a consensus of opinion definitely points to a particular interpretation.

The greatest temptation in interpreting questionnaire findings has been to evaluate the social action of Honolulu's churches on the basis of the author's association with them over many years, often longer than present pastors have been acquainted with either congregations or community. As much as possible I have avoided any modification in reporting questionnaire or interview results, but I admit to personal interpretation of the general treatments of subject matter.

#### IV. VALUE OF THE STUDY

To the author's knowledge, no investigation of social action

programs in churches, denominations or church council in Honolulu has ever been attempted. Nor has any survey ever been made of minister or lay-leader opinion as to effective leadership and strategy in social action. From time to time, articles concerning the church in Hawaii appeared in Social Process, the now discontinued publication of the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. None dealt with the problem of churches and social action in the Hawaiian community except one by Dr. J. Leslie Dunstan, at the time General Secretary of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, who, in a presentation to a meeting of the Honolulu Council of Churches in the spring of 1951, said in a concluding remark:

The churches as such play little or no part in dealing with the problems that arise in the life of the territory. Many things are happening to us as a people, in our social organization, our political structure and the economic order which makes it possible for us to live. The churches are part of the scene and they should bring their influence to bear upon the events that occur. Perhaps they do through their members in ways we cannot see and to degrees we cannot measure. That we should expect. Yet the churches themselves are in the main silent and inactive as though the faith they held was meaningless for the world in which they stand.<sup>2</sup>

No evaluation has ever been made of the relationship of churches in Hawaii to the three specific areas of social conflict as set forth in this study. Nor has any effort to contrast the social action of Christian churches with non-Christian groups been recorded.

It would seem, therefore, that such a study as this would be of most value to church leaders concerned about the strategy in local churches and denominational headquarters that is most effective in

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<sup>2</sup>J. Leslie Dunstan, "The Churches in Hawaii," Social Process, XVI (1952), 39.

dealing creatively with social conflict. Because of the particular areas of social concern that are dealt with, churches in Hawaii should find the conclusions most applicable, though the underlying principles of effective leadership in social action could apply to churches everywhere. It would seem that ministers would want to know what other ministers and especially what lay leaders feel about the methods which churches, denominations and councils are now using to relate themselves to the problems of the community. It would seem that denominational leaders would want to know what local pastors and laymen think about cooperative efforts in social action. Businessmen should know what churchmen believe to be standards of justice and fair play in the economic life of the community. Community leaders should know what churchmen think about extremism and ethnic prejudice. Hawaii clergy and laymen both tend to a provincialism in dealing with social conflict and would benefit from a study of similar conflict and conflict resolution in mainland situations.

It is hoped that the following chapters may not only contribute to theoretical discussions of social action in the church but offer many practical suggestions for effective leadership and strategy in meeting conflict situations.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL ACTION

Like it or not, the Church is being judged in the contemporary world by the degree to which theology becomes actualized and apparent in the decisions Christians make in social, political and economic affairs.<sup>1</sup>

So begins one denomination's unit of study on "Christian Mission and Social Action." But, just how should churches relate themselves to community problems? Should they express their will only through individual Christians inspired to act on their own? Should they enunciate only general principles of the Christian ethic by which the community may or may not choose to order its actions? Or should they endorse specific political and economic measures which they believe commensurate with a commitment to the Gospel of Christ? Some churchmen oppose involvement at any point where it challenges the status quo. Others are just as sincere in their desire that the church witness as a church in community conflict. The very nature of the church is involved in these differences, and the support of the social action program of churches is at stake. It is important, therefore, to examine the theological, ethical and practical implications of that program.

#### I. THEOLOGICAL CONCERNs

The church does not have a distinctive voice in the world of today if the message of the church is indistinguishable from the world.

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur E. Walmsley (ed.), "Christian Mission and Social Action," Foreground Studies (New York: National Council of the Episcopal Church), Preface.

The first claim on the people of God is God's claim on them, and their primary concern must be obedience to His will and commitment to His purpose. Likewise, the church receives its very life from God and primarily exists not to serve itself but Him. A Christian church has its basic nature determined for it. It is the creation of God in Christ; therefore its essential purpose is not decided by its members; it is only interpreted by them. As the Body of Christ, that purpose is to bear witness to Him in the world, to proclaim the Gospel and to help men serve Him and glorify God.

The church is under orders given to it. It is the duty of its members to seek to know the will of God. That determines what a church must do; for it is committed to obedience to God rather than to what men, by the standards of human judgment, think is desirable and expedient.<sup>2</sup>

The witness of the church, then, is to the absolute claim of Jesus Christ and it must always represent that "other kingdom" if it is to have the power that is uniquely its own.

But there is also a "this worldliness" which the church cannot neglect. It is "in the world" that the creative and redemptive Word of God is at work. Dietrich Bonhoeffer put it:

The Church is her true self only when she exists for humanity. As a fresh start she should give away all her endowments to the poor and needy. The clergy should live solely on the free-will offerings of their congregations, or possibly engage in some secular calling. She must take her part in the social life of the world, not lording it over men, but helping and serving them. She must tell men, whatever their calling, what it means to live in Christ, to exist for others.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Roswell P. Barnes, Under Orders (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1961), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Prisoner for God (New York: Macmillan, 1958), p. 180.

The Word that became flesh is alive and at work in the world today and wherever the creation, conserving or renewing of life goes on, there the church is about the work of Christ. Man has a tendency to divide thought and action into the sacred and the secular, as if the claim of God were limited to the religious affairs of life. It is the commitment of the Christian, however, that leads him into the world, a partner in the building of the Kingdom.

Richard Luecke, writing in the first issue of Dialogue, has given a provocative history of the struggle of the prophetic word to speak to the church and to the world. Prophets of the Old Testament were dedicated to the task of shaking the wall of separation between religion and reality.

They spoke out of their faith, and faithful understanding of the covenant, which constituted Israel a people of God - first the indicative, then the imperative.<sup>4</sup>

When the people protested that God had not heard them though they had been faithful in prayer and fasting, He spoke through the second Isaiah:

Is such the fast that I choose, a day to humble himself? Is it to bow down his head like a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him?...Is not this the fast that I choose: to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the thongs of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke? Is it not to share your bread with the hungry, and bring the homeless poor into your house?<sup>5</sup>

This "authority" in the secular realm was assumed in the words and in the actions of Jesus. He declared that God would destroy the religious structure of His people and create new ones. He healed on the Sabbath

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<sup>4</sup>Richard Luecke, "The Prophetic Word for Today," Dialogue, 1:1 (Spring, 1962), 51.

<sup>5</sup>Isaiah 58:5-7, Revised Standard Version.

and denounced specific practices going on in the temple. In the Luke account of His first recorded sermon He defined His mission with a concern not for religion, but for the poor, the broken-hearted, the captive and the blind.

The adjustment between the "other-worldly" and the "this-worldly" claims of Christian faith is never an easy task and, though the conflict has repeated itself again and again in the life of the church, it must be resolved anew by each generation. But the problem of the church and social action cannot be solved by abstract theological considerations. Just as religious insight leads beyond religion so must theology lead to an examination of the ethical issues posed by the ever changing world of today.

### III. ETHICAL CONCERNs

We live in a populous, urbanized, technical society and that which is accomplished is usually dependent upon organization and impersonalization that present difficult alternatives for Christian morals.

The Church cannot direct its work simply to individuals. It cannot in our time summon men merely to personal faith. The Church is not confronted by individuals, but by individuals-in context. People define themselves, have their sense of identity and values through the constellation of relationships and loyalties that make them what they are. People live, work, sin, and must be reborn in community.<sup>6</sup>

Many of the charitable and humanitarian tasks of the church in social action have been taken over by the community, but these are nonetheless

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<sup>6</sup>Daniel B. Stevick, "Christian Mission and Social Action," Foreground Studies (New York: National Council of the Episcopal Church), 2.

the work of God and to them the church must lend both support and leadership. In many areas of social concern the scope, the ability and the sensitivity of community organizations have moved beyond prevailing attitudes in the church.

Whether we like it or not, the future of the world is being increasingly determined through political channels. Yet political activity is an area much neglected by both churches and individual churchmen.<sup>7</sup>

Any meaningful relationship to the organized world of today means an acceptance of methods which are together called political. These are the ways by which society manages its affairs.

Their use simply recognizes that many constructive ends are attained by such ordinary means as paying membership fees, writing constitutions and by-laws, taking part in debates in which the issue is not one of clear-cut good versus evil, making motions, counting ballots, accepting results and acting on them, running superior candidates for office.

Because their misuse has produced corruption, the church has too often regarded these processes with suspicion; yet this is the very reason that individuals and institutions committed to the Christian ethic should involve themselves in social issues. The Episcopal study on social action, already referred to, makes the significant observation that in our closely interrelated, highly organized world it has now become possible to show a love for all men in ways never before known. Individual charity is helpless in the face of most problems which confront mankind today; but, by identifying with those organized forces of the community

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<sup>7</sup>Harvey Seifert, The Church In Community Action (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952), p. 157.

<sup>8</sup>Stevick, op. cit., p. 3.

that seek equality, justice and opportunity for everyone, the Christian can perhaps better express now than ever before the love for neighbor that Christian commitment demands. To be indifferent to politics, in this broad meaning of the term, then, is to limit one's ability to fulfill the Great Commandment, for it stands to reason that only political remedies can resolve conflict the origin of which is political.

This is not to imply that the Kingdom of God will be won by political action. The oft-repeated dictum is true that "goodness cannot be legislated." But, too often, this becomes an excuse for inaction, and we fail to ask the more important question of what can be legislated?

We can secure, by devoted use of the means in possession of our society, institutions which embody freedom and compassion, which restrict the power to oppress and which allow the care for all to become the business of all.<sup>9</sup>

If, for the Christian, truth is in God alone, then another important concern for the Christian's involvement in organized life is to avoid making an idol of any institution or cause. It means accepting the responsibility of presenting our convictions and of opposing the ideas and decisions of those with whom we do not agree. It means attributing to ourselves and our group the same capacity to be mistaken that we attribute to opposing voices in the community. One cannot have this freedom, however, without differences. or have differences without possible conflict and controversy. A distorted view pervades the church today that it is an institution in society whose existence and unity must be maintained at all cost. The church is an institution, of course. It

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

must maintain itself; but, if our Christian theology has meaning, it is also more than an institution. God is involved in it, and therefore larger questions than those of organizational health and membership and finances, and of peace and quiet, not only will but must be asked of it. Dan W. Dodson, writing in Social Action, comes to the conclusion that a church without controversy is therefore not being led to a significant encounter with the realities of the world, for the "cutting edges" of a democratic society are at the points of tension and difference. It is these differences that he feels should be examined in the light of Christian commitment, for the growth of both the individual and the church is dependent upon significant confrontations where differences of viewpoint are ventilated.

The moral and ethical issues involved in modern problems of race relations, war and peace, the trend toward materialism in values, and the relation between the market place and human values, all attest to the need for the church to be a dynamic institution.<sup>10</sup>

But, as Richard Luecke observes in his appraisal of the prophetic word in our time, it seems to be of the very nature of the demonic that it does not rebel against inadequate forms. but tends more to settle down with them and to make the most of them. As he points out, the first and second temptations were not that men should fall down and worship the tempter. but rather that one simply continue his allegiance to the forms of the world without reference to God's purposes in them. It is still a great temptation for churchmen to shrink from that which is controversial.

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<sup>10</sup>Dan W. Dodson, "The Creative Role of Controversy," Social Action, XXIX (February, 1963), 9.

Yet, this is the risk involved in giving oneself to the service of Christ in the world. In an excellent sermon to his people of the Church of the Crossroads in Honolulu, the Rev. Delwyn Rayson put it in the form of a searching question:

Why should unity and peace be the most important principle in a day of trouble? Why that rather than the principle of faithfulness to God who raises the dead, and who again and again works His purposes out of our failure and weakness? What I am trying to say is that social action is not a matter of doing for Christians. It is a matter of being and believing; of believing that we do not exist for ourselves but for Him who called us; of being, precisely, those people who now live in faith out of God's promises and resources and no longer out of their own....So the church can go on, justifying its timidity and disobedience; and ministers, such as myself, may continue to go on rationalizing their fears and compromises, but the danger is that, in the meantime, the church may cease to be the church, may become merely the buttress of culture, or a security system for the fearful, or a religious club for the like-minded but spiritually crippled.<sup>11</sup>

Not only is there risk in that the Christian shall act in ways that are wrong but that he will be misunderstood when acting in ways that are right. However, what of the risk in rejecting the social implications of the Gospel?

For the Christian to refuse a role (of social action) because of its risk means withdrawal or isolation from the world rather than outreach or advance. It means that the frontiers of social effort will be worked by non-Christian forces. The secular humanists will do the hard and costly work. And the church will come in when the battle is over and won. It will relate to a social cause gladly enough after it has ceased to be controversial, that is to say, after it has ceased to be important.<sup>12</sup>

That Christianity must significantly involve itself in the affairs of the world is really not an alternative in the life of the church. It is

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<sup>11</sup>Delwyn R. Rayson, "Ministers, Churches and the Day of Trouble" (sermon delivered at The Church of the Crossroads, Honolulu, July 30, 1961).

<sup>12</sup>Stevick, op. cit., p. 4.

the very measure of commitment. But, whereas churchmen may agree on the need for social action, they may disagree on the methods of achieving it.

### III. PRACTICAL CONCERNs

The individual or the local group has a freedom of action and expression which a larger, more representative, more efficient body cannot have. At this individual level, equally sincere churchmen can be convinced members of either Party, staunch supporters of either labor or management, be liberal or conservative, and yet each can give honest expression to conscience. But what of social action, political affiliation and pronouncement on community issues on the part of churches, denominations and inter-church groups? Here there is not common agreement.

The church has no business engaging directly in politics. Such is the business and obligation of the laity.<sup>13</sup>

This is the honest stand of one articulate laymen's group convinced that their denominational committees present a more liberal view than actually prevails in the churches. Other ministers and laymen believe that the church should increase its involvement in the life of the community, voluntary and official, individual and corporate. There seems to be no single, no "right" answer to this problem. Official involvement in social action may have success at one point, yet at another it may be a detriment to the church its ministry or its people. Effective church action is usually based on a consensus of individual support, yet effective individual witness often finds its inspiration in the leadership

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<sup>13</sup>Laymen's "Social Action" Group, Information Letter (Sierra Madre, California, June 25, 1963), Statement of purpose.

and guidance of the church. In view of the church's commitment to the Lordship of Christ, however, and with any recognition of the interrelated "one world" of today, the burden of proof must certainly be on those who in any categorical way would disassociate the church from the political, economic or social problems of the community.

Yet, the wisdom of both "camps" is essential in determining strategy with which individual and church can deal with specific problems of social action. For one thing, any alignment with a particular social organization or structure tends to limit the church in its distinctive task of bringing the redemptive Gospel of Christ to bear on all sides of every issue and on all facets of every life. But, at the same time, churches, denominations and councils must give expression to general policies and have the power to apply them to specific situations with the considered and respected voice of professional leadership. Action departments at every level of church life must be accountable to a representative group and must run the risk of censure when they overstep their delegated power; but, equally important, their delegated power should include freedom to witness in their own name to what they believe to be the concern of the church. Only the voice of the organization is heard in an organized world. To deny these action groups mobility and integrity is to deny them the very power they need to be effective in society today.

By the same reasoning, affiliation with other churches and groups that share common ideals and desires for social action should be encouraged and functionally provided for. When churches are not represented by their best leadership, then a religious voice will be raised

by the less responsible. Shortly before the national elections in 1960 a group of twenty Lutheran ministers signed a statement in support of John F. Kennedy. Among those who objected to such official involvement on the part of the clergy was a seminary professor who argued that their positions denied them the privilege of speaking as individuals. In spite of their statements to the contrary, this man said, the public would take their action as a reflection of the position of the denomination of which they were members. To this, Dr. Kent S. Knutson, one of the signers and also a seminary professor, replied:

If this objector means that a minister is in the public eye and therefore must speak carefully and cannot divorce himself completely from speaking for a group, if he means that this position engenders respect and therefore carries weight beyond the individual voice, this is all the more reason for him to speak on public issues, for he carries a great responsibility to assist others in making difficult decisions especially on questions in our society which involve religious and moral connotations.<sup>14</sup>

William Lee Miller in his The Churches and the Public holds that both the position of the church as being in a separate realm and minding its "religious" business, and the church as an active, intervening force giving authoritative leadership to the community, are illusions.

What is possible is for the churches to be explicitly aware of the world around them, criticising it, being discriminating about it, contesting with it; continually and specifically subjecting it to the scrutiny of the religious man's commitment and understanding.<sup>15</sup>

Miller is right when he challenges the premise of most social action in the church that it is unified, clearminded and correct in its opposition

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<sup>14</sup>Kent S. Knutson, "Letters to the Editor," Dialogue, I, (Autumn, 1962).

<sup>15</sup>William Lee Miller, "The Churches and the Public," Social Action, XXVII (September, 1960), 9.

to a wrong-headed secular society which is waiting for the church's voice. The church's thought is not in fact radically different from the society that surrounds it. He feels that the church should be less concerned with action and more with understanding, analysis and the criticism that must precede action. He recognizes, however, the danger of irrelevance that is inherent in dealing only with general principles.

He concludes:

What I would like to see from the religious community would be fewer answers and more wide-ranging questions, fewer distinctly religious positions but more positions taken from religious motivation, fewer crusades but more development of a civic conscience and social intelligence.<sup>16</sup>

The trouble with Miller's solution is that his argument ends where the real struggle begins. Whence comes the dynamic for the development of civic conscience and social intelligence? Whence comes the religious motivation from which more positions are taken? One can call for fewer crusades, but whence comes the inspiration that is needed for the realization of changes in society? It is of the very nature and mission of the church that it must be involved in public affairs. It must proclaim to men that God whose love is revealed in Jesus Christ loves them and desires that they love Him and each other, therefore their relation to Him cannot be separated from their relation to their neighbors.

The church has no choice but to be concerned with men's personal relations with one another, with what they do as groups, as nations, labor unions, chambers of commerce, patriotic organizations, garden clubs, or political parties...The church is also concerned with what the structures and processes of

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

society do to people, government, taxes, education, automation, television, or atomic energy.<sup>17</sup>

Christianity begins with an answer. No aspect of the life of society or the individual's experience is outside or beyond the rule of God and therefore not outside or beyond the concern of the church.

The church always stands at the frontier, the social frontier that exists wherever there is confrontation, interaction and communication across physical, temporal, social and psychological barriers which divide people from each other and people from God. Moving from the Stone Age to the "Jet Age" in 180 years, mixing Occidentalism and Orientalism, implanting an industrial economy upon a plantation society, reflecting a New England Missionary heritage through a kaleidoscope of Christian and non-Christian faiths, Hawaii has been a unique social frontier. Whether or not the churches of Hawaii have been or could be a vital factor in the breaching of the barriers that continue to divide man from God and man from man is the question this study seeks to answer.

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<sup>17</sup>Barnes, op. cit., p. 25.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CHURCH IN HAWAII

#### I. MISSIONARY HERITAGE AND DENOMINATIONAL HISTORY

Discovery by Captain Cook in 1778 brought the mixed blessing of civilization to the two or three hundred thousand enolithic, preliterate Polynesians that were then living in Hawaii. At first decimated by disease and exploited by economic and social value structures far different than their own, the Hawaiians have mixed with incoming peoples through the years and today the part-Hawaiian is the most rapidly increasing part of the population and holds an equal, almost preferred, status in the Island society.

The story of Protestant missionary endeavor in Hawaii is an inspiring one. In 1809, with the great King Kamehameha dead, the taboos broken, the people disillusioned with their nature gods, the young Hawaiian, Opukahaia, who had seen his mother and his sister killed in senseless tribal warfare, pleaded with the captain of an American merchant ship to take him to the United States. Opukahaia lived with the captain's family in New Haven, Connecticut, and one day was found weeping on the steps of Yale College, bemoaning the ignorance and the plight of his people. Welcoming the offer of sympathetic students to instruct him, he became an ardent Christian and made plans to return to the Islands as a missionary. Several other Hawaiian youths in New England were also discovered to have aptitude for learning, and in 1816 Opukahaia and three others were enrolled in a special school established by

the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Although Opukahaia died in 1818, while still a student, his desire to bring the Gospel to his people was realized with the organization of the Sandwich Islands Mission in Boston, October 15, 1819. Four days later, the first missionary company of two ministers, a farmer, a physician, two school masters, their wives and children, and three Hawaiian youths set sail from Boston harbor. On the day of their leaving they stood together in the Park Street Church and accepted this commission:

Your views are not to be limited to a low or a narrow scale... you are to aim at nothing short of covering those islands with fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings, and schools and churches; of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization....<sup>1</sup>

In sharp contrast to the five-hour jet flights of today was the five-month voyage around Cape Horn on the brig Thaddeus. Missions were established on all the Islands, and Christianity was accepted so rapidly and by so many people that in 1840 the Kingdom of Hawaii was spoken of as a Christian nation. In the process of this Christianization Hawaii had also become a literate society.

Congregationalism dominated mission history in the Island Kingdom until, under pressure from France, Roman Catholicism was allowed to begin work in 1839. With the help of England, the Anglican Church was established in 1862. The Methodist Mission dates from 1887, and the Lutherans, Disciples of Christ and Society of Friends had all begun work before 1900. As early as 1850 the Mormons started a mission in the

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<sup>1</sup>Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938), p. 101.

Islands making a special appeal to the Hawaiians because of their emphasis upon the Polynesians as one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

The great increase in denominational activity came during World War II. With the closing of missions in Asia, the evangelizing zeal of denominations that had recalled personnel from China, Japan, Korea and the Philippines was directed to Hawaii because of the especially attractive field of unconverted immigrants from these areas residing in the Islands. Coupled with the fact that servicemen from all denominational backgrounds were stationed in Hawaii, congregations were started in rapid succession by the Southern Baptists, Nazarene, Evangelical Lutherans, Assembly of God, and many others. Many sect groups, unrestricted by community agreements or denominational commitments, also found converts in the Territory. Actually, Protestants are fewer in number than the Buddhists and Catholics. These faiths grew rapidly with the influx of contract labor during the last half of the nineteenth century, and both claim membership of more than 100,000.

Protestant churches run the gamut of theological orientation with as much liberalism and conservatism within denominations as between them. The impact of Protestantism upon Island life, however, is greater than its number of 60,000 would indicate because of its equation with Hawaii's history. Without doubt the early missionaries were moved by mixed motives, but it was obviously a self-sacrificing rather than a self-seeking purpose which dominated their action. It opened the hearts of the people to them and gave them an influence in all spheres of life which was almost without measure. Though social action in the early churches was primarily a Puritan attack upon the sins of the flesh,

under missionary influence a Bill of Rights - often called the Magna Charta of the Islands - received the signature of the king in 1839. This bill, recognizing the inalienable rights of the people, and specifically the right of private property in the soil, and, placing restrictions upon the taxing power of the chiefs, amounted to a virtual rejection of the feudal system and commitment to a constitutional form of government. The Constitution, promulgated in the following year, though it affirmed the divine law as the source and norm of human law, nevertheless called for the separation of the religious and civil spheres, and complete liberty and toleration in the former.

There was also an historical tie between community development and the missionary movement.

The observation attributed to a representative of the London Missionary Society with respect to their mission in the South Pacific in 1797 - 'nothing can pave the way for the introduction of the Gospel but civilization' - reflects the typical Protestant viewpoint which is inherent in much of community development.<sup>2</sup>

In Hawaii, the avowed intention of the missionaries was one of improving the physical state of the natives as a necessary condition for their spiritual redemption.

Schools of all types, from kindergartens to universities, hospitals, medical and psychiatric clinics, agricultural experiment stations, model farms, producer and consumer cooperatives - these have been among the accessory institutions as essential to the Christian missionary movement of the past century as they are today to what is known as community development.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Gerrit P. Judd, IV, Hawaii: An Informal History (New York: Colliers Books, 1961), p. 41.

<sup>3</sup>Andrew W. Lind, "Community Development as a Social Science Frontier," Social Process, XXVI (1963), 59.

## II. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SETTING

Hawaii's business life has passed, within living memory, from outright feudalism through a period of strong paternalism and now, for a number of reasons--World War II, statehood, increase of population and mainland investments--has achieved a level of economic democracy equal to that of any other state.

The paternalistic rule, most of it dominated by missionary descendants, was on the whole benevolent and administered with regard for Hawaii's best future, and without the careful guidance and hard work of these early business leaders, the bread-and-butter industries of the Islands could hardly have survived.<sup>4</sup>

The oligarchic planter Republic that existed from the time of annexation in 1898 to the beginning of war in 1941 was characterized by tightly knit corporate and family interests which controlled the plantations, financial institutions, shipping and much of Hawaii's wholesale and retail commerce. Concentration of land ownership is another predominate feature of the Island economy that began with the "Great Mahele" (division) under Kamehameha III in the decade, 1845-1855, and continues to this day as a source of economic and political conflict. Though obvious that he favors a redistribution of Hawaii's land, the facts with which the majority leader of Hawaii's House of Representatives described land ownership in the Islands in 1961 are nevertheless true:

In the entire State, the Government--State, Federal and County--owns 42 per cent of the total land area; the 60 largest owners--those having 5,000 or more acres--own 46 per cent; and over 60,000 owners--the rest of us--own about 12 per cent of the land.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, Hawaii A History (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948), p. 271.

<sup>5</sup>Honolulu Star-Bulletin (February 13, 1961).

The elevated economic and social status of Caucasians, called "Haoles" in Hawaii, was also a feature of pre-war Island life. Peasant peoples from China, Japan, Portugal, Korea, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other countries were imported as plantation workers from 1875 to 1925. Though the Oriental immigrants were not eligible for citizenship, the basic guarantees of a democratic system prevented their being held on the plantations beyond the period of their contract. Many laboring families began small businesses, acquired wealth and property, educated their children, entered the professions, and became the nucleus of a rising middle class. In recent decades the major movements of population have been to and from the mainland. While the ethnic complexion of Hawaii is thus always fluid, present proportions can be roughly summarized as: three-eighths of Caucasian descent; an ever-increasing one-eighth of varying proportions of Hawaiian ancestry; two-eighths of Japanese origin; and the remaining two-eighths of Filipino, Chinese, Puerto Rican, Korean, Samoan and Negro background, approximately in that order. By common usage these are the "races" of Hawaii.

It would not be inaccurate to say that those with economic control exercised considerable political power through the Republican Party. However, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor set forces into motion that have gradually changed the political scene. Construction and service firms that had been established during the war drew increased numbers of workers from the mainland and from off the plantations. Unions, which had made little headway before 1941, by 1946 had organized Hawaii's sugar, pineapple and ship-handling companies. As the economic power of labor and middle class groups increased, and as many non-Haoles

moved into positions of business leadership, the picture of Hawaiian politics was drawn in more liberal terms.

With the return of the war veterans, many now armed with law degrees, the Democratic party in Hawaii underwent a profound transformation...The young veterans who provided the leadership of the revitalized party were powerfully motivated by the desire<sup>5</sup> to accelerate the egalitarian processes at work in the Islands.<sup>5</sup>

The extent of this transition was seen in the almost complete Democratic sweep of local, state and national offices in 1962. Politically, the Hawaii of today is "left of center" with strong civil rights sentiment counter-balanced by a traditionally conservative business community.

Protestant churches have found it difficult not to be equated with this missionary-founded business society. It has been only in the past few years that even churches of predominantly Oriental membership have not shared this conservative outlook. Social action, therefore, has not been a major emphasis nor has involvement in, or resolution of, social conflict been a major accomplishment of Island churches. As to what is being undertaken in order to make the church in Hawaii relevant to the physical, moral and spiritual needs of people and what Honolulu ministers and lay-leaders believe to be the leadership and strategy needed to bring this about, is the direction in which this study now moves.

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<sup>5</sup>Robert H. Horwitz, "Hawaii's Lands and the Changing Regime," Social Process, XXVI (1963), 69.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CHURCH IN HAWAII AND SOCIAL ACTION

The questionnaire used in this study has gathered data from a particular group of church leaders, living in a particular place and facing particular social conflicts. Though eliciting a better than average response, its limited focus has made the drawing of both comparisons and conclusions difficult. Larger denominations can be described with some assurance as can particular faith groups as a whole. However, should one pastor of the only two churches in Honolulu of a denomination have checked church school materials as less effective than other strategies for social action, the conclusion could hardly be reached that "half of the ministers" of that denomination believe that their national curriculum is inadequate.

The opinion questions have provided serious and fruitful comments, productive of what church leadership in Honolulu actually feels about the entire area of social action. Though care has been taken in content analysis, liberty is admitted in generalizing certain viewpoints. Admission is also made that ideas of particular meaning to the author have received special attention.

#### I. ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN SOCIAL ACTION OF THE CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUE AND BUDDHIST TEMPLES OF HONOLULU

In his introduction to Basic Christian Ethics, Paul Ramsey begins,

In the end the student of Christian ethics can only know that he knows what the simplest true Christian vigorously "doing the truth" knows already.<sup>1</sup>

It was with a similar assumption that one of the first questions asked of Honolulu churchmen was what they feel has been the most significant accomplishments of their churches in social action during the past two years. The answers give not only a summary of activities but provide a clue to what church leaders believe constitutes a social action program for the church. Some are frank in saying that their churches have accomplished very little. Many are concerned that they should be doing more.

Varied programs of social action have been undertaken by Island churches. Some reflect a heritage of moralism and individualism that renders them more or less irrelevant to the realities of an urban, industrial society. Others are simply local expressions of denominational concerns. Most, however, show a sensitivity to social conflicts and a willingness to cooperate with inter-church and community groups in resolving them. More than half of the respondents mention taking part in a Council of Churches' drive for personal letters to Congressmen and mainland friends in support of civil rights legislation. Two churches sent representatives to Washington, D. C., to speak in favor of the Civil Rights Bill. A Southern Baptist minister stresses the impact that churches of the Hawaii Baptist Convention are making on members of that denomination in the South. "Leaders that have visited here in the

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<sup>1</sup>Paul Ramsey, Basic Christian Ethics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), p. xi.

Islands have seen the harmonious relationships that can exist," he said. A broad view of social concern is also reflected in the support of United Nations projects. UNESCO drives are planned by the Honolulu Council of Churches each October and meet with Island-wide response.

A close-knit, sometimes provincial, community life that Hawaii's insularity produces also makes for an active citizen participation in political affairs. Island churches share this involvement and it is expected that ministers and lay-leaders will appear before the Legislature in support of or opposition to particular measures. In 1957, the churches were publicly credited with the defeat of a proposal to permit pari-mutuel gambling in the Islands. Fifteen of the respondents mention their support of a similar campaign by the Council in 1964. Southern Baptist leaders employed a lawyer to present their opposition to a bus subsidy for parochial school children before the City Council. Three churches have presented political forums in which members of the State Legislature were invited to speak on social issues. The Department of Education has been successfully pressured to increase the budget allotment for the education of retarded children.

Of particular significance is the feeling expressed by both clergy and laymen that education for social action must go hand in hand with activities of social reform. Methodist churches have made effective use of a denominational study, "Moral Man and Moral Society." Episcopal churches have joined in a denominational focus on "Social Action and the Community." Two churches, one Congregational, the other Lutheran, have recently brought a social action emphasis into their work with youth. The first has organized a youth "cube" for political study

and action during political campaigns. The second, beginning with a teen-age Sunday School class, organized a civil rights drive at the local high school which culminated in a Civil Rights Dance in which \$250 was collected for the NAACP.

Laymen's groups have been active in the initiation of social action projects. Two have begun Senior Citizen Centers, one in cooperation with the Parks and Recreation Department of the City and County of Honolulu that offers possibilities for even wider sharing by church and community of mutual responsibilities. Another laymen's organization works closely with the Welfare Department of the City in financial support of a youth worker especially trained to work with juvenile gangs. One layman feels that the Safety Belt Drive that his church planned and executed in a suburban community outside of Honolulu was both successful and significant.

The Seventh Day Adventists have been pleased with response to their "smoking clinics." The Jewish Community has, in the last two years, organized a social action committee that has held Sunday discussions on current social issues, invited community action groups to use their facilities, and has taken a leadership role in inter-faith cooperation. According to the one rabbi in Honolulu, "Judaism on the American scene has taken a strong stand in favor of equality of opportunity in housing and employment for all Americans. Leadership has come from the national organizations; local congregations have therefore been stimulated to issue statements or adopt action applicable to the local scene."

A challenge to the claim of Christian social actionists that truth, justice and righteousness are non-sectarian, is the obvious and

natural reaction which Buddhist respondents expressed in having brought about an official State recognition of April 8 as Buddha Day. The proposal was made to the Legislature by a State Senator of Buddhist faith and supported by the Hawaii Buddhist Council that through local temples obtained 40,000 signatures petitioning its passage. Buddhist leaders have every right to be proud of their effort.

According to ministerial response, all but two churches surveyed are engaged in some program of social action. Three clergymen of larger congregations, however, characterize their activities as of little significance. "We have taken only 'piddling' action," says one. Except for the few churches that have active social action committees, it appears that most congregations limit their involvement to support of denominational projects and cooperation with church council efforts. Lay-leaders mention the same activities as their ministers, though it is evident that they are not as aware of existing denominational and inter-church programs.

### II. FACTORS PECULIAR TO THE CHURCH IN HAWAII THAT INFLUENCE SOCIAL ACTION

Before summarizing the opinions of Honolulu churchmen as to leadership and strategy, it is important to understand what they consider to be factors peculiar to the church in Hawaii that influence social action. Among the many presented, certain characteristics of Island congregations are felt to be more important than others in effecting social action. For the purpose of summary, they can be divided into positive and negative factors.

Many respondents feel that the "facts" of Island life, which include inter-racial marriage, inter-ethnic business and social leadership and multi-faith communities, are a primary influence for good in the social action efforts of Hawaii's churches. "Racial mixing as the normal state of parish life cannot help but make easier any working for racial justice or working against the injustices minorities suffer," is the opinion of one Episcopal minister. "The present degree of ethnic co-operation gives a basic ground for reasonable discussion for further development," says another. A Southern Baptist minister writes: "Because there is no one dominant racial group, where culture, religion or habits of any group come into conflict with set patterns, there seems to be more harmony."

Others speak of the nebulous but very real "Aloha spirit" of neighborliness which still influences social relationships. There is a reluctance to oppose the views of others which, though on the one hand tend to mitigate social action, yet on the other make for agreement. Respondents feels that this tolerance has greater influence upon mainland prejudices than do mainland pre-possessions upon Island stititudes. Allied with this is the feeling of some that the vestiges of Hawaii's missionary heritage are still an important influence upon social action. "The missionary background is still a religious propensity that makes for a condition in which religion is given a hearing." A Congregational layman says: "There is great evidence of early missionary teaching interwoven into the fabric of Island life and culture. That Protestantism was once a 'State Church' is reflected in our political and

economic life. The 'Aloha spirit' is a child of our religious heritage."<sup>2</sup>

Another factor thought significant is the vigor of minority groups in Hawaii. Particular reference is made to the unions, but other economic, political, social and religious minorities are given a hearing by the community. This may be due in part to the voice in government of minorities in Hawaii that often outweighs their numbers. A Methodist layman explains: "People are close to their legislators, they know them personally."

Some feel that the physical isolation of Hawaii from the mainland allows social evils to be brought more quickly into focus. Others hold that this geographical separation has led to a cultural isolation which encourages indifference and defensiveness as to social issues. Many (18 of 34 ministers and 7 of 16 laymen who spelled out their answers to the question as to factors peculiar to the church in Hawaii that influence leadership and strategy in social action) express the feeling that the Islands' tolerance and "Aloha spirit" too often results in an easy-going lethargy indifferent to social problems. One Lutheran pastor puts it: "Because of their desire to get along with all groups, church people in Hawaii are reluctant to speak out. The church needs to speak. Tolerance rules rather than Christian Love." Another factor,

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<sup>2</sup>Contrary to popular belief, at no time was a "state church" ever established in Hawaii. It is a tribute to the early missionaries that, in obedience to their Pilgrim birthright, they did not succumb to this temptation, though they had no qualms about encouraging the chiefs to adopt the moral legislation of rural New England. See Harold Whitman Bradley, The American Frontier in Hawaii (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1942), pp. 168-169.

related to the first, is a passiveness and a "status quo" psychology that some feel limits the initiation of social action in Island churches. Three respondents find cause for this in the "benevolent capitalism" that dominated the economic life of Hawaii to the time of the war. Others feel that the countervailing forces of the materialistic society of our time, so dominant in the transient, tourist atmosphere of the Islands, is the reason for this apathy. One Methodist pastor believes the cause for indifference rests with the "moderate elements in control of the community through the press and political groups that seek to stifle local voices in regard to social action."

Another factor peculiar to Hawaii that both clergy and laymen feel is negative to social action is the reluctance of those of Oriental background to involve themselves publicly in social issues. Japanese and Chinese respondents are the ones who stress this point. "Local Orientals are simply less vocal than other people," says a Congregational layman. The Japanese Professor of Religion at the University of Hawaii explains: "Children of immigrants tend not to insist on social action until they have made a secure place for themselves." Others say it is a reflection of the Buddhist emphasis upon individual enlightenment rather than social consciousness.

Concomitant to this reluctance of the Oriental to express himself, some feel that prestige factors cause a similar reluctance on the part of the more well-to-do "Haole" churchmen. "There is a heritage of prestige, established and continued by the dominant 'Haole' economic groups, which causes even a disproportionate amount of Oriental families to want to send their children to private schools and to

desire a certain social status above democratic involvement and social justice." One minister expresses the concern that those churches that do take a stand are immediately "classified" by the community. Though he does not elaborate or define the term "classified," his answer is in line with many others that the prosperous, "good life" atmosphere constitutes a status quo which churches and churchmen are hesitant to question.

This leads to a point which three respondents of different denominations feel important to make, that Hawaii's inter-racial population has been so publicized and eulogized that it has produced a languor even in churches to recognize that there are many subtle forms of ethnic and social prejudice that exist. "That we are already so much better off than other parts of the world causes a lethargy that tempts Island Christians to think that theirs is no longer a missionary effort," is the way one puts it.

A similar lassitude, some feel, exists in regard to the inter-denominational picture of Island church life. Limited by population potential, especially on the Islands other than Oahu, denominations are still under mainland pressure to increase membership and initiate new work. Many of the denominations still bear a mission status and are partially supported by funds from their national boards. This may be background if not reason for the concern of those who feel that independent religious groups competing with each other in order to maintain themselves are a negative factor in the promotion of social action. One can hardly say, however, that this is peculiar to the churches of Hawaii.

The Quaker respondents emphasize a point which others recognize that the extensive military establishment in the Islands cannot help but influence community reaction to the issues of disarmament, nuclear bomb testing and peace proposals. Forty percent of the income of the State is derived from the military through the purchase of goods and services. It is difficult for churches to be forthright in opposition to increased military spending when many of their parishioners are dependent upon the armed services for their livelihood.

One factor of negative influence upon social action peculiar to Island churches is the sometimes defensive posture of many in the Hawaiian ethnic group. Anachronistic feelings of dispossession often color not only their community involvement but their church relationships as well. Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian families, for the most part, are numbered in the lower income brackets. Control of Island economic life is in other than Hawaiian hands. State and local political control have gradually passed to "Haole" and Oriental leadership. Yet, to expect a favored position for the Hawaiian is like trying to regain Manhattan Island for the Reckagawawank Indians. Even so, there is a certain sympathetic, paternal attitude among the non-Hawaiians that has led to homestead and trust advantages for Hawaiian families. This feeling has often made for irrational approaches to social issues. Also, inter- and intra-denominational efforts to combine small, struggling churches into effective parish centers have been thwarted by the admitted feelings of Hawaiian religious leaders that their church is the last societal identity they have. This has made for a very conservative attitude toward social action on the part of Hawaiian congregations. As the

chaplain to the school for Hawaiian children puts it: "It would be an injustice to take the Hawaiian Homestead Act and the Hawaiian trusts away from the Hawaiian people, yet they create social injustice in the Island community."

It seems to the author that there is wisdom in the answer of one Methodist minister that Hawaii is not a "miniature mainland," and that some mainland concepts applied to local situations create needless conflicts. By the same token, Island achievements in the resolution of conflict are not necessarily applicable to mainland problems. For example, the strong historical and economic factors basic to the inter-racial harmony between Caucasian and Oriental peoples in Hawaii are a great deal different than the factors that have led to disharmony between Caucasian and Negro peoples on the mainland. This is not to say that Hawaii, particularly through its churches, cannot export in great quantity the spirit and the experience of ethnic integration, but it points up the importance of understanding and appreciating those factors peculiar to the church in the Islands that influence social action.

### III. LEADERSHIP ROLES IN SOCIAL ACTION

Leadership, as an aspect of group life, is an institution which develops in all types of social organizations. Ross and Hendry contend that:

In the Western nations of the world, most groups are disposed toward having, and indeed most have, a "central figure" in their group, either elected by themselves or appointed by an external agent to be their leader.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Murray G. Ross and Charles E. Hendry, New Understandings of Leadership (New York: Association Press, 1957), p. 55.

This contention is borne out in the opinions of Honolulu church leaders as to which individuals or groups they feel are most responsible for the initiation of social action programs. Possible answers on the questionnaire included leadership at the local, denominational and inter-denominational level, and respondents were free to mark one or more. Results, given in percentage of answers received, are summarized in Table II.

Both clergy and laymen seem agreed that individual ministers are the primary initiators of social action in Honolulu churches. It is significant that both groups feel this so strongly, though, in subsequent answers, some ministers make clear that this is not as they would wish the situation to be. It is also interesting to note how closely both agree that church committees, while next in number, are in comparison considered only of minor importance. Both also feel that individual laymen and denominational committees are even less effective, and that inter-denominational groups are apparently ineffective in the initiation of social action. There is a clue, albeit small, in the fact that more laymen than clergy feel ministers to be initiators and that more clergy than laymen feel denominational and inter-denominational committees to be effective. In a later question as to present accomplishments in social action, many ministers mention their churches' participation in social action programs initiated by denomination and inter-denominational committees. Having been closely associated with council of churches' work, the author believes the assumption can rightly be made that much of what laymen understand as the minister's initiative is in reality his introduction into the local church of the

TABLE II

## INITIATORS OF SOCIAL ACTION

	Minister	Individual Layman	Church Committee	Denomina- tional Committee	Interde- nominational Committee
<b>By Percentage of Respondents</b>					
LAYMEN MINISTERS	76 63	21 21	31 31	21 25	7 13
<b>By Raw Score</b>					
United Church--Laymen Ministers	8 11	1 6	3 2	2 6	0 1
Methodist--Laymen Ministers	5 8	1 1	0 7	1 3	0 2
Episcopal--Laymen Ministers	4 5	0 0	0 0	0 3	0 1
Presbyterian--Laymen Ministers	0 0	1 0	0 1	0 0	0 2
Baptist--Laymen Ministers	1 1	0 0	0 3	0 0	0 0
Disciples--Laymen Ministers	0 2	0 0	1 1	0 0	0 -
Lutheran--Laymen Ministers	2 3	2 1	2 0	0 1	0 1
Adventists--Laymen Ministers	1 1	0 0	0 1	1 0	1 0
Friends--Laymen	0	2	2	0	0
Buddhist--Laymen Ministers	0	1 2	0 0	0 0	0 0
Jewish--Laymen Ministers	2 1	0 1	2 1	1 0	0 0

social action objectives of the larger groups. If correct, this assumption would to some degree bear out another of the Ross and Henry conclusions:

The 'leader' is given a place of centrality in the group which reinforces his 'leadership position.' At times the group may hesitate to move without his approval - not because it is not confident of its own decisions but simply because he is the 'leader,' and inherent in the formal or informal arrangements of the group is acceptance of the idea of a 'leader' who has a special role, status and authority in the group.<sup>4</sup>

The distribution of raw scores produced no particular distinctions between denominations. For the most part they correspond to the percentages of the total minister and laymen response. Some, however, seem to reflect the character of national bodies as to social action. For example, to know the strong denominational ties of the Methodist and Baptist churches in the Islands, and to know first hand their widespread use and dependence upon denominational study materials is to expect their leaders to feel that, in addition to the minister, church and denominational committees also play important roles in the initiation of social action.

It is significant that of the small number of Buddhists reporting both priests and laymen feel that the individual member, not the minister, initiates effective action. This gives support to the conclusion of one Buddhist layman who writes, "Buddhists are by tradition not interested in social action. They are concentrating on, 'What am I?,' 'How can I find Amida Buddha?' "How can I live a life of thanksgiving

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

because of His embrace?' Although this kind of attitude is changing at the sacrifice of concentration mentioned here."

A second part of the question concerns the most efficient role which the minister can play in effecting a program of social action. Efficiency is defined in the question as "that which has gotten the job done," in the minister's or layman's opinion. Alternative choices presented are those of leaving it primarily to laymen, participation by the minister in decisions made by a group, or the minister's taking the initiative and producing the program. Table III gives a comparative picture of opinion by percentage of answers received. In this question, respondents checked only one alternative as the most efficient role, therefore it is significant that a majority of both ministers and lay leaders feel that participation in democratic decisions is, not only in theory but in their experience the most effective role of the minister. The findings of Lewin, Lippitt and others that there is greater morale in democratically led groups and, in the long run, greater productivity and efficiency, seem to be reflected here.

However, differences between clergy and lay opinion may also be significant. The fact that the greater number of Honolulu ministers feel that their most productive role is as part of a group decision and that so few feel that social action can be left to laymen may be evidence of an idealistic, "way things should be done," reaction on the part of the clergy. Whereas, the laymen feel that effective leadership is more of a directed process and list the minister as a initiator of social action. If this is a valid interpretation, then it seems to bear out another Ross and Hendry conclusion:

TABLE III  
COMPARATIVE EFFECTIVENESS OF MINISTERIAL ROLES

	Initiative Left To Laymen	Democratic Group Decisions	Minister Takes Initiative
<b>By Percentage of Respondents</b>			
LAYMEN MINISTERS	14 4	45 63	35 33
<b>By Raw Score</b>			
United Church--Laymen Ministers	1 2	5 7	4 5
Methodist--Laymen Ministers	1 0	3 11	0 2
Episcopal--Laymen Ministers	1 0	2 6	2 2
Presbyterian--Laymen Ministers	1 0	0 2	0 0
Baptist--Laymen Ministers	0 0	1 4	1 0
Disciples--Laymen Ministers	0 0	1 1	0 2
Lutheran--Laymen Ministers	0 0	0 1	2 2
Adventists--Laymen Ministers	0 0	1 0	0 1
Buddhist--Laymen Ministers	0 0	0 0	1 1
Jewish--Laymen Ministers	0 0	1 0	1 1

One must be realistic...There is need to recognize a democratic-authoritarian continuum. There will be some situations in which, because of time available, the nature of the task, the previous experience of the members, a considerable degree of initiative and aggressiveness are required by the group.<sup>5</sup>

No meaningful differences between denominations are indicated by the raw scores for this part of the question.

#### IV. OPINIONS OF HONOLULU MINISTERS AND LAY-LEADERS CONCERNING STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION

Church leaders were then asked to judge the effectiveness of various strategies for social action. Categories include educational programs, public statements, demonstrations and inter-church conferences. Two or three specific strategies are suggested in each category. A weight of three is given to those marked very effective, two, for those thought moderately effective, and one, for those felt to be ineffective. The question assumes reasonably efficient leadership at the local church, denominational and inter-denominational level. "Effectiveness" is defined as that which would make an impact upon community life. Respondents were instructed to cross out any strategies that they considered inappropriate for local church action. Written comments from some seem to imply that the crossing out of a possible answer could signify not only a feeling of inappropriateness for the church but, in some cases, a general rejection of or even objection to a particular kind of strategy.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

In the following four tables, a contrast by percentage of total scores is made between ministers and laymen for the strategies in each category, and a comparison of mean scores is drawn between denominations.

Table IV compares clergy and lay opinion of church school and young peoples' programs as effective in the development of social action. It is obvious that both groups believe these approaches to be only moderately productive. One can only guess the reasons that Honolulu ministers feel that young peoples' programs are more effective, whereas lay-leaders place more hope in the church school. Laymen would tend to be less critical of curriculum and materials, but ministers would be aware that not until recently have units on social concerns been emphasized in church school materials. Reule Howe explains that in the church's traditional emphasis upon content it forgets the method of dialogue, and forms and orthodoxies become barriers to vital Christian life and truth.

The defensive image of the church as a safety deposit box in which spiritual valuables are kept needs to be changed to an image as the incarnation of the spirit of the master.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps this dialogical approach to religious education also offers a clue to the reason that Honolulu ministers consider young peoples' programs moderate to very effective strategy for social action, whereas the laymen believe them less effective even than the church school. If at all involved in the young peoples' work of his church, the minister cannot help but see, what parents often do not, that teen-agers are in

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<sup>6</sup>Reule L. Howe, Man's Need and God's Action (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1953), p. 101.

TABLE IV

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EDUCATION THROUGH CHURCH SCHOOL AND YOUTH GROUP  
AS A STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION

		CHURCH SCHOOL	YOUTH GROUP
<b>By Percentage of Respondents*</b>			
<b>LAYMEN</b>			
III	Very effective	35	24
II	Moderately effective	41	38
I	Ineffective	14	14
<b>MINISTERS</b>			
III	Very effective	19	39
II	Moderately effective	42	40
I	Ineffective	23	10
<b>By Mean Score</b>			
United Church--Laymen		2.15	2.22
Ministers		1.90	2.16
Methodist--Laymen		2.40	2.00
Ministers		2.00	2.23
Episcopal--Laymen		2.00	2.25
Ministers		1.75	2.00
Presbyterian--Laymen		1.00	1.00
Ministers		2.00	2.00
Baptist--Laymen		3.00	3.00
Ministers		2.33	2.50
Lutheran--Laymen		2.00	2.00
Ministers		2.50	2.00
Disciples--Laymen		2.00	2.00
Ministers		2.00	3.00
Adventists--Laymen		3.00	2.00
Ministers		3.00	3.00
Friends--Laymen		2.50	1.50
Buddhists--Laymen		3.00	2.00
Ministers		2.00	2.50
Jewish--Laymen		2.00	2.00
Minister		-	2.00

\* Because respondents were free to check all items or none, totals of questionnaire tables will not necessarily equal 100 per cent.

a period of ideological realignment when, perhaps for the first time, there is a deep sense of God within and duty without. Recognizing the danger in speculation on such slim evidence as these percentage totals, nevertheless, the author cannot help but interpret these particular ones in the light of the younger third and fourth generations that will soon be the leaders of Hawaii's churches; and he cannot help but feel that the ministers' response to this question is an equal compound of fact and hope, a hope which the author shares. If this speculation is at all correct, then Lewis Sherrill's challenge to the teacher of Christian education would be as applicable to the development of social consciousness as it would be to Bible instruction:

Teachers of Christian education will be especially open to dialogue with their students, because tradition becomes sterile if it is passed on without encounter. They will help them to encounter the significant personalities of history and especially they will help them to know him whose life we believe revealed God most fully. Personal communion, then, is the core of Christian education, not information to be digested or rules to be observed.<sup>7</sup>

A comparison of mean scores by denomination and between Christian, Jewish and Buddhist groups reveals no significant differences.

Table V compares minister and layman opinion as to the impact which resolutions and public statements make upon community life. Eighty percent of both groups feel that resolutions by local church boards are moderate to ineffective. The laymen seem especially certain that this kind of strategy is not productive of community response.

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<sup>7</sup>Lewis Joseph Sherrill, The Gift of Power (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 83.

TABLE V

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RESOLUTIONS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS  
AS A STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION

		BY CHURCH BOARDS	BY INDIVIDUAL GROUPS	BY MINISTERIAL GROUPS
<b>By Percentage of Respondents</b>				
<b>LAYMEN</b>				
III	Very effective	17	21	33
II	Moderately effective	41	59	62
I	Ineffective	45	24	10
<b>MINISTERS</b>				
III	Very effective	6	12	17
II	Moderately effective	62	63	65
I	Ineffective	27	23	12
<b>By Mean Score</b>				
Number in ( ) indicates number of respondents by whom answer was crossed out				
United Church--Laymen		1.33 (1)	1.87 (1)	2.00
Ministers		1.78	1.64	2.21
Methodist--Laymen		2.22	2.40	2.60
Ministers		1.66	1.75	2.16
Episcopal--Laymen		1.75	2.25	2.25
Ministers		1.37	1.71	1.85
Presbyterian--Laymen		1.00	2.00	2.00
Ministers		2.00	1.50	2.00
Baptist--Laymen		3.00	2.00	2.00
Ministers		2.00	2.75	2.00
Lutheran--Laymen		1.00	2.00	2.00
Ministers		1.66	1.66	1.66
Disciples--Laymen		1.00	1.00	2.00
Ministers		1.00	2.00	1.50
Adventists--Laymen		1.50	3.00	2.00
Ministers		2.00	2.00	1.00
Friends--Laymen		.50	1.00	2.00
Buddhist--Laymen		1.00	1.00	1.00
Ministers		2.50	2.00	3.00
Jewish--Laymen		2.00	2.00	2.70
Minister		2.00	2.00	2.00

Though fewer of the clergy believe resolutions to be very effective, the majority hold them to be moderately so. Based upon conversations with some of the ministers whose opinions are part of these totals, one must qualify any generalization as to the ineffectiveness of local church resolutions with the feeling expressed that such resolutions might have a great deal of value in resolving conflict and uniting social action efforts within the church body itself.

While such dictums do have some effect on government, the general public, or other bodies toward which they are beamed, their most thoroughgoing consequences are probably to be found within the constituent groups of the body speaking...Only the discussing church is the powerfully witnessing church in the community.<sup>8</sup>

Apparently the individual judges the strategy for social action in which he is directly involved as less effective than that which involves other groups. This seems a logical, though admittedly speculative, explanation of the fact that whereas the lay-leaders judge their church resolutions ineffective, they feel that public statements by individual ministers are moderate to effective and that statements by ministerial groups are most effective. On the other hand, the clergy feel that though statements by individual ministers are slightly more effective than those by church boards, the resolutions of ministerial groups are given a greater hearing.

The questionnaire did not make clear whether the strategy of statements by ministers included denominational and inter-denominational pronouncements. In conversation, and in their answers to other

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<sup>8</sup>Harvey Seifert, The Church in Community Action (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952), p. 139.

questions, some ministers express the opinion that whereas they do not feel that statements by Honolulu ministers have been particularly effective, nevertheless pronouncements by national church bodies have had significance, at least for local churches. This would bear out the conclusions of Glock and Ringer in their comparison of minister and parishioner attitudes on social issues:

Where the Church has elected to compromise on an issue, the minister has also compromised with the views of his parishioners. However, where the Church has taken a partisan point of view, the minister generally identifies with this view, despite the opposition of a substantial segment of his parishioners.<sup>9</sup>

The Glock and Ringer survey also establishes evidence for the rather obvious expectation that ministers differ least among themselves on issues on which church policy is partisan, and differ most on issues on which church policy is equivocal. National pronouncements, therefore, though not of great impact on the community, are of significant support to the clergy.

Table VI concerns the use of public demonstrations as a strategy for social action. Eleven of the respondents crossed out the possibility of demonstration by the church, and nine the demonstration by individuals, as inappropriate. Even if these are added to the number that feel the strategy is ineffective, it still appears that the majority of Honolulu churchmen believe public demonstrations at least a moderately successful means of social action. Interviews made clear that respondents could not help but evaluate these strategies in terms

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<sup>9</sup>Charles Y. Glock and Benjamin B. Ringer, "Church Policy and the Attitudes of Ministers and Parishioners on Social Issues," American Sociological Review, XXI (April, 1956), 156.

TABLE VI

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PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS AND CORRESPONDENCE  
AS STRATEGIES FOR SOCIAL ACTION

		CHURCH DEMON- STRATIONS	INDIVIDUAL DEMON- STRATIONS	WRITING TO OFFICIALS
<b>By Percentage of Respondents</b>				
LAYMEN				
III	Very effective	33	14	48
II	Moderately effective	31	41	56
I	Ineffective	21	33	3
MINISTERS				
III	Very effective	33	25	44
II	Moderately effective	23	44	46
I	Ineffective	17	13	0
<b>By Mean Score</b>				
Number in ( ) indicates answer was crossed out.				
United Church--Laymen		1.88 (1)	1.87 (1)	2.44
Ministers		2.61 (1)	2.58 (2)	2.50
Methodist--Laymen		2.33 (2)	2.50 (2)	2.60
Ministers		2.00	1.85	2.72
Episcopal--Laymen		3.00 (2)	1.50 (2)	2.22
Ministers		2.16 (2)	1.85 (1)	2.14
Presbyterian--Laymen		3.00	3.00	1.00
Ministers		2.00	2.00	2.00
Baptist--Laymen		2.00	2.00	2.00
Ministers		1.00	2.00	2.75
Lutheran--Laymen		0	0	2.00
Ministers		2.50 (1)	2.50 (!)	2.00
Disciples--Laymen		0 (2)	1.00	3.00
Ministers		0	1.00	2.50
Adventists--Laymen		1.00	1.00	3.00
Ministers		2.00	0	2.00
Friends--Laymen		2.00	2.00	2.50
Buddhist--Laymen		1.00	1.00	2.00
Ministers		2.50	2.00	2.50
Jewish--Laymen		1.80	1.40	2.80
Minister		2.00	2.00	2.00

of the civil rights demonstrations of the past three years. That this is not a theoretical question gives added meaning to the answers.

No particular differences between denominations appear, though it does seem significant that of those that object to this type of strategy as inappropriate to the social action of churches there are twice as many laymen as ministers. A similar relationship appears in the comparison of Buddhist and Jewish clergy and lay opinion mean scores. This may be small but meaningful support of the Glock and Ringer conclusion that the church is more liberal than its laity on most issues, and more receptive to social change than its parishioners. Whether eliciting a negative or positive reaction, response to the question of public demonstrations as a strategy makes clear that it does have an impact upon community life.

Both groups favor the writing of public officials as an effective strategy for social action. Of all possibilities, fewer people held this to be ineffective. As already observed, the Island community is very close to its elected officials and these percentages reflect not only an acceptance of the strategy in theory but also the success of past letter-writing efforts. The social action effort most mentioned by Honolulu churchmen was a letter-writing campaign in support of the Civil Rights Bill.

In a very real sense in this modern world the success of a pastor's ministry ought to be judged by the number of letters his congregation sends to Washington, as well as by the number of accessions to the church<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Seifert, op. cit., p. 187.

Table VII compares church leader opinion as to the effectiveness of denominational and council of churches' conferences. Implied in the question is the kind of inter-church conference on specific social issues, usually held at the time of conflict, in which Island churches have cooperated for many years. Laymen seem to feel that denominational conferences are effective to very effective and that council-sponsored conferences are somewhat less effective. Ministers register less enthusiasm about conferences under either auspices.

The author, as a former executive director of the Honolulu Council of Churches and knowing at first hand the inevitable competition that exists between denominational and council programs, would have been surprised if lay leaders had not judged denominational conferences as the more effective strategy for social action. It has been my experience that elected lay leadership, if not already involved in denominational activities, is quickly made a member of state committees and a part of denominational state-wide programs. Seldom do these people have the time to represent their churches in the affairs of the council. Those who are interested in an inter-denominational approach to social conflict often feel a tension of loyalties. Denominations are usually better supplied with conference materials and national resource people, whereas councils of churches can offer a more united and concerted attack upon local problems. The author is a witness to the fact that when denominational headquarters are willing to share their national programs and leadership in an inter-church effort the most effective social action is accomplished.

TABLE VII

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CONFERENCES  
AS A STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION

		DENOMINATIONAL	COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
<b>By Percentage of Respondents</b>			
<b>LAYMEN</b>			
III	Very effective	33	17
II	Moderately effective	66	69
I	Ineffective	2	7
<b>MINISTERS</b>			
III	Very effective	17	29
II	Moderately effective	54	29
I	Ineffective	21	13
<b>By Mean Score</b>			
Number in ( ) indicates answer was crossed out.			
United Church--Laymen		2.00 (1)	2.00 (1)
Ministers		2.00	2.15
Methodist--Laymen		2.50	1.80 (1)
Ministers		2.00	2.33
Episcopal--Laymen		2.50	2.00
Ministers		1.87	1.62
Presbyterian--Laymen		2.00	2.00
Ministers		2.00	2.00
Baptist--Laymen		3.00	2.00
Ministers		2.33	2.00
Lutheran--Laymen		2.00	2.00
Ministers		1.66	2.00
Disciples--Laymen		2.00 (1)	3.00 (2)
Ministers		1.00	2.50
Adventists--Laymen		2.00	2.00
Ministers		1.00	1.00
Friends--Laymen		.50	.50
Buddhist--Laymen		3.00	3.00
Ministers		2.00	2.50
Jewish--Laymen		2.60	2.50
Minister		3.00	3.00

The lukewarm response of Honolulu ministers to the conference as a strategy is also not surprising. There is a real danger that "calling a meeting" of churchmen each time the community is faced with social conflict can become an escape from more direct and effective approaches. The strategy of the conference has been used so often in the fifteen years that the author has been involved in the church life of the Islands that he shares something of the feeling that a great deal has been said but little has been done.

Denominational comparisons of mean scores reveal no particular differences but do show consistency in that leaders of non-cooperating churches would be expected to favor denominational over council leadership. There is also consistency in the fact that both clergy and laity of the Jewish and Buddhist temples judge the conference as a very effective strategy in social action. This is quite in line with the continued willingness of these groups to cooperate with Christian efforts. This response, however, is probably based more on intent than experience because the impact of inter-faith conferences upon the resolution of social conflict has not as yet been really tested in Hawaii.

#### V. ATTITUDES OF HONOLULU MINISTERS AND LAY-LEADERS CONCERNING LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY FOR SOCIAL ACTION

In evaluating effective leadership for social action, it seems important to the author to know where Honolulu churchmen place the primary responsibility for public witness. This question asked: "On which of the following issues should churches, denominations or councils speak or act on behalf of their people, and on which should only the voice of

the concerned individual be heard?" The additional alternative is given that if the respondent feels that both individuals and churches should speak publicly on a particular issue, then he should mark all possibilities. The social conflicts suggested are both local and national. They were purposely not arranged by category so as to elicit an immediate impression to the particular problem. Some of the problems listed are pertinent to Island life and some remote, some emotionally charged because of recent tensions and others suppositional.

I did not foresee that some respondents would mark all issues as the leadership responsibility of individual and church alike. Typical is the reaction of the Jewish Rabbi who states that "all individuals and groups who feel a concern on any of these issues should feel free to take a stand." The fact that so many marked the question in this fashion may indicate firm conviction, but it may also be indicative of insufficient time or effort to distinguish between alternatives. For this reason, the summary of answers given in Table VIII includes also the percentage of ministers and laymen who feel that the issues are the responsibility of concerned individuals and of all church groups. Reaction would have been easier to evaluate if only the leadership thought primarily responsible had been designated for each social concern presented. However, such differentiation might not be true to experience.

The author frankly admits the difficulty he has had trying to interpret many of the answers to this question. The Glock and Ringer study concluded:

TABLE VIII

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ATTITUDES CONCERNING LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY  
FOR SOCIAL ACTION

		LOCAL DENOMI-		ALL
		INDIVIDUAL CHURCH	NATION COUNCIL	RESPONSIBLE
<b>By Percentage</b>				
Fair housing covenants				
LAYMEN	45	58	48	73
MINISTERS	58	50	52	65
Sunday closing laws				
LAYMEN	42	45	45	66
MINISTERS	58	56	54	63
Strike threats				
LAYMEN	45	24	27	61
MINISTERS	63	31	40	58
Religious observances in public schools				
LAYMEN	54	42	51	58
MINISTERS	63	60	65	58
Medicare				
LAYMEN	79	39	39	51
MINISTERS	75	35	46	42
Endorsement of political candidates				
LAYMEN	91	9	6	12
MINISTERS	92	13	15	15
Pari-mutuel betting under state or county supervision				
LAYMEN	58	66	54	82
MINISTERS	85	85	85	88
UNESCO materials in public schools				
LAYMEN	54	51	45	51
MINISTERS	76	46	48	63
Tax exemption for church property				
LAYMEN	45	66	64	69
MINISTERS	50	60	71	67
Laws relating to birth control				
LAYMEN	66	42	48	51
MINISTERS	73	31	60	48
United Nations' recognition of Red China				
LAYMEN	69	36	39	51
MINISTERS	75	33	44	48
Beer consumption in public parks				
LAYMEN	61	61	51	66
MINISTERS	76	62	54	62

TABLE VIII (continued)

	INDIVIDUAL	LOCAL DENOMI-	ALL	
	CHURCH	NATION	COUNCIL	RESPONSIBLE
<b>Supplemental aid to parochial schools</b>				
LAYMEN	45	30	45	54
MINISTERS	76	62	75	71
<b>Revision of divorce laws</b>				
LAYMEN	54	47	54	66
MINISTERS	73	46	69	63
<b>Sale of obscene literature</b>				
LAYMEN	64	64	58	79
MINISTERS	76	78	76	81

In supporting social change, the church must proceed cautiously lest its stand offend the collective sentiment of its parishioners. This danger is most acute on issues which bear directly on the distribution of power in society, such as war, labor, government control and the political role of the church. On these issues parishioners have definite convictions and their self-interest is clearly identifiable...However, on issues of an ideological or moral character, the church finds it less necessary to temper its stand in accordance with the will of its parishioners...As a result the church has a greater opportunity to exercise its leadership.<sup>10</sup>

One would assume from this that laymen do not look to the local church for leadership when dealing with problems of political concern and government control. However, Honolulu lay leaders seem to feel that local churches should take leadership responsibility for social action in these areas. On the other hand, reactions of Island ministers appear to bear out the study. On ideological and moral issues clergymen hold that the local church should speak out. This suggests the hypothesis that laymen feel action on sharply controversial issues appropriate more often than ministers, while ministers feel that traditional "moralistic" issues are the concern of the local church.

On some issues, such as the endorsement of political candidates, there is definite conviction on the part of both clergy and layleaders that this is an individual matter. Over 90% of both groups observed this, whereas no more than 15% of either felt that churches, denominations, councils or all groups together should have responsibility in this area to act publicly on behalf of their people. On local, recent matters of social concern, such as the constant pressure on the State

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<sup>10</sup>Glock, op. cit., p. 155.

Legislature of mainland interests to authorize pari-mutuel gambling, or the proposal to the City Council to allow the consumption of beer in public parks, the reaction is, as expected, a desire for response by churchmen, individual and official, at every level. Thirty-nine percent of respondents favored leadership from all sources as regards pari-mutuel gambling, and half of the ministers favored all groups making public objection to the proposal allowing beer consumption in public parks. Objection was the reaction anticipated by the author, knowing the church and community concern over this problem.

This does not account, however, for the noticeable difference in answers to the issue of supplemental aid to parochial schools or the conflict over revision of the divorce laws. Over 50% of the clergy favor all groups speaking publicly. Though it is only conjecture, based upon the author's involvement in local concerns, the fact that ministers feel the churches should also respond publicly could mean that the high percentage given to individual responsibility is in reality a belief that more laymen should become interested in problems concerning which ministerial leadership so far has had little significant effect. This assumption, if valid, would also apply to the question of the sale of obscene literature, a problem with which the churches of Honolulu have been concerned for many years, but in which their official voice has received a small hearing from the community.

On meeting local conflict situations both ministers and laymen seem agreed that denominational and church council leadership is effective. The fact that more persons feel council action appropriate than local church or denomination seems to suggest a rather strong

expectation that the Honolulu Council of Churches be involved in social issues. Fair-housing covenants and Sunday closing laws are thought by both groups to be primarily the responsibility of the council, though here again the ministers call for a general public concern. This importance of the council must, among other reasons, be attributed to the fact that for churches with few congregations in Hawaii the council in many ways takes the place of a denominational fellowship. Lutheran (ULCA), American Baptist, Presbyterian and Disciples of Christ churches, especially, look to the council as a focus for cooperative effort and a contact point for community relationships. In turn, the place and the work of the local council has been enhanced by this close support.

One must know the total Island involvement in a strike situation to appreciate or understand the answers to responsibility for church leadership in social action during a strike threat. First of all, percentage of answers on the questionnaire seem to reflect a mutual recognition by both ministers and lay leaders of the inability of local churches or denominations working separately to alter strike conditions. However, it is interesting that the laymen, so many of whom have been affected by past strikes, feel that the church council should be the leader in any public witness, whereas the clergy, so many of whom have seen how ineffective the work of the church has been in averting or mediating labor-management conflict, would look to concerned individuals for leadership. Again, perhaps more of the recognized failure of past efforts is recorded here than actual faith in the leadership designated.

The percentages most puzzling to the author, those that seem to refute the Glock and Ringer findings, are the conclusions concerning who should speak publicly on the issues of birth control, Medicare, the use of UNESCO materials in public schools and the United Nations' recognition of Red China. These areas of controversy were included among the possibilities because they are remote from actual points of social conflict in Hawaii, and it was expected that both clergy and laymen would believe them to be the responsibility of denomination and council leadership. As can be seen, this obviously is not the case. Seventy-five per cent of ministers checked these problems as primarily the individual's responsibility, a reaction made even more difficult to understand because of the relative few that considered these to be general concerns. The laymen, though calling for somewhat less individual leadership and somewhat more council responsibility, gave a similar response. Again, admitting the pure speculation of any conclusion, the fact that each of these issues, though national in scope, is part of the general liberal-conservative tension that exists in the Island community may account for the answers. All four questions have a definite emotional content so that ministers may be saying that laymen are not and ought to be more responsible for leadership in a needed local consideration of these wider problems. The fact that a clear majority of both clergy and lay leaders feel that Medicare is an individual concern and that only a third to a half feel that it is the concern of the church at any level, is probably evidence of the successful campaign which the Hawaii Medical Association seemed to have waged against the Medicare program before its passage. The United Nations' recognition of Red China and the use of

UNESCO materials in public schools, (at the present being used), one would expect to produce a reaction similar to that of the question of the endorsement of political candidates. In one respect these same percentages are most logical in that ministers, more likely to know of denominational leadership in each of these areas at the national level, have, in all four, looked to the denomination for direction more so than have the laymen. This seems also to be true with regard to religious observances in public schools and the tax exemption of church property. Here the ministers seem to feel that local churches are responsible for leadership in social action based upon denominational programs. Other than this, both ministers and lay leaders feel that individuals and church groups are equally responsible, except that in the matter of tax exemption the church speaking officially at every level would be more effective than single voices.

Table IX compares minister and layman opinion concerning social action issues which they feel are most appropriate to individual, church, denominational or council action. The comparison was arrived at by ranking the percentage figures given in Table VIII in the order of most to least appropriate for each type of leadership responsibility. Where percentages are nearly the same the same rank of importance is given. For example, both clergy and lay leaders apparently feel that the endorsement of political candidates is, of all the issues considered, the one that is most appropriate to individual responsibility. It is interesting how similar are the ratings which both groups give to these issues. Note that the problem of pari-mutuel betting is thought by both to be particularly appropriate to the church council as an area

TABLE IX

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COMPARISON OF LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY  
FOR SOCIAL ACTION ISSUES BY ORDER OF IMPORTANCE

	INDIVIDUAL	LOCAL CHURCH	DENOMI- NATION	COUNCIL
Fair housing covenants				
LAYMEN	9	4	5	3
MINISTERS	7	6	8	6
Sunday closing laws				
LAYMEN	10	7	6	5
MINISTERS	7	5	7	6
Strike threats				
LAYMEN	9	12	8	6
MINISTERS	6	10	12	8
Religious observances in public schools				
LAYMEN	8	8	4	7
MINISTERS	6	4	5	8
Medicare				
LAYMEN	2	9	7	9
MINISTERS	4	8	10	10
Endorsement of political candidates				
LAYMEN	1	13	9	10
MINISTERS	1	11	13	11
Pari-mutuel betting under state or county supervision				
LAYMEN	7	1	3	1
MINISTERS	2	1	1	1
UNESCO materials in public schools				
LAYMEN	8	5	6	9
MINISTERS	3	7	9	6
Tax exemption for church property				
LAYMEN	9	1	1	4
MINISTERS	8	4	4	5
Laws relating to birth control				
LAYMEN	4	8	5	9
MINISTERS	5	10	6	9
United Nations' recognition of Red China				
LAYMEN	3	10	7	9
MINISTERS	4	9	11	9
Beer consumption in public parks				
LAYMEN	6	3	4	5
MINISTERS	3	3	7	7
Supplemental aid to parochial schools				
LAYMEN	9	11	6	8
MINISTERS	3	3	3	3
Revision of divorce laws				
LAYMEN	8	6	3	5
MINISTERS	5	7	4	6
Sale of obscene literature				
LAYMEN	5	2	2	2
MINISTERS	3	2	2	2

for social action.

With some exceptions, they believe political, primarily national, issues to be the individual's responsibility for involvement rather than issues of local importance. Table X is a graphic presentation of this point. Issues are listed according to rank. Lines are drawn where there is a significant difference in rating of appropriateness. In both tables it seems clear that ministers and lay leaders agree that local problems are best met by church rather than individual action. There appears also a tendency to rank church action higher than individual action for what have traditionally been the local concerns of the church or which have affected the church as an institution. Both groups, for example, rank the immediate community problem of the sale of obscene literature as a first concern for local congregations.

Obviously, only trends are significant in a comparison of this sort. Where ministers and laymen differ more than four or more ratings of importance given to issues, interpretation seems called for. As to areas of individual responsibility, this occurs in the matter of pari-mutuel betting and supplemental aid to parochial schools. The author, as a member of the Public Affairs Committee of the Church Council, feels that ministers are more sensitive to the moral and social implications of these issues and are expressing here the wish that their laymen were more so. The same interpretation can be made of differences concerning local church responsibility. Ministers feel that local churches should be more concerned with the moral and social implications of religious observances in public schools, supplemental aid to parochial schools and tax exemption for church property. These

TABLE X  
RANKING OF SOCIAL ACTION ISSUES  
APPROPRIATE TO INDIVIDUAL OR LOCAL CHURCH ACTION

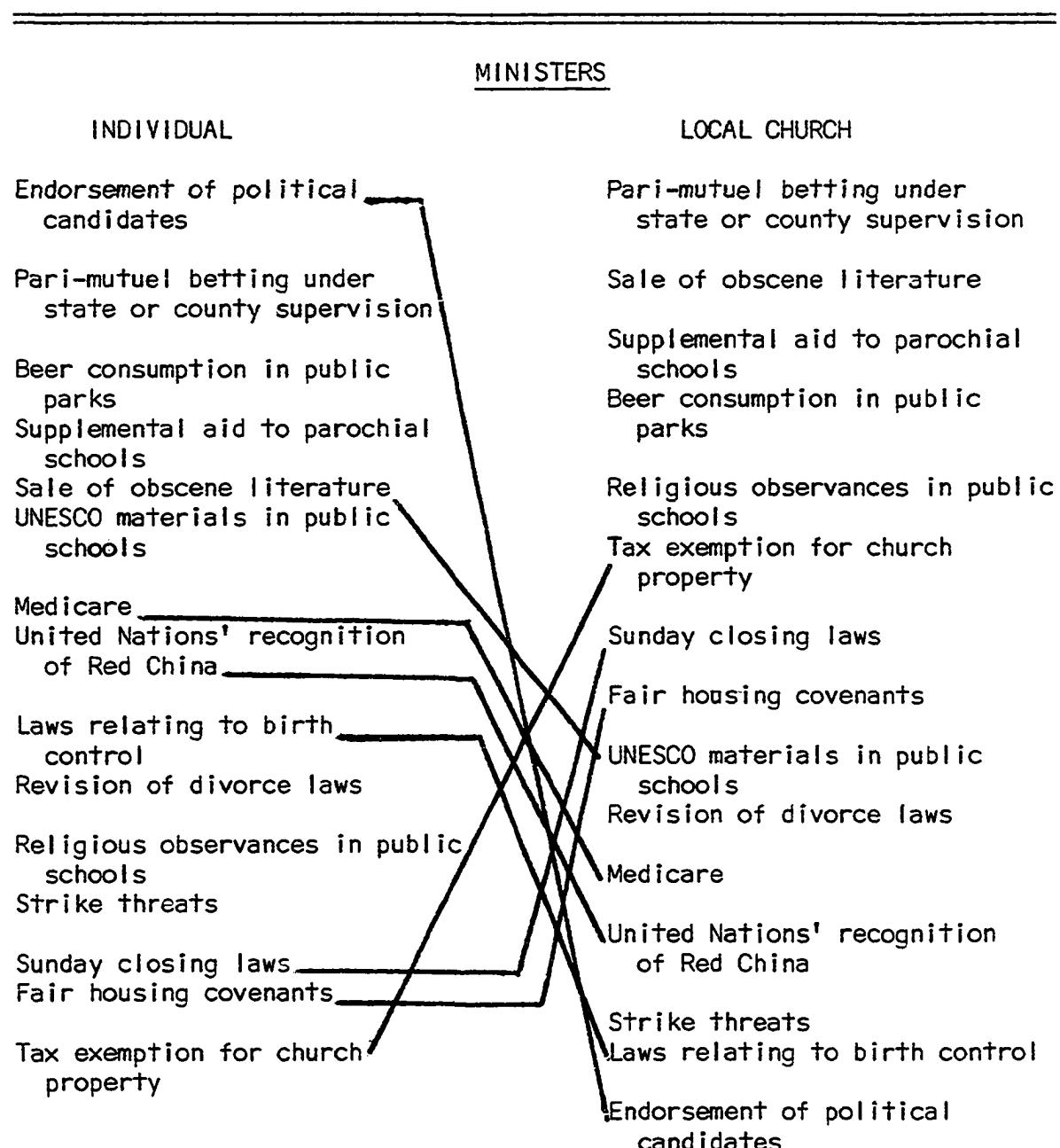
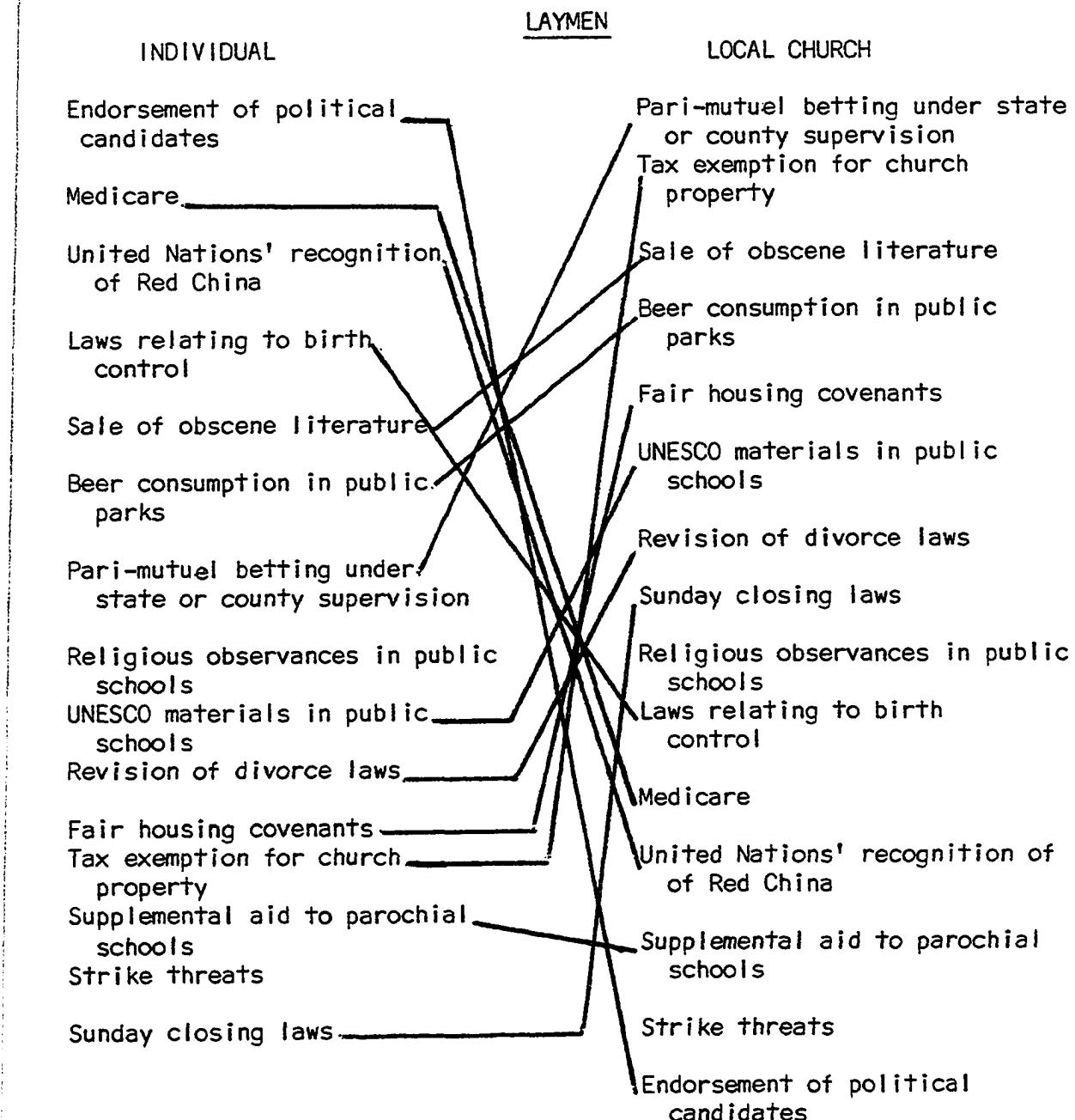


TABLE X (Continued)



problems are not as acute in the Islands as they are in some places on the mainland. Ministers are more aware of them because of discussions in church journals and denominational materials.

It is also important to realize that a majority of Island clergy have come from the mainland and tend to reflect the social concerns of mainland areas. The fact that private and parochial schools were the first schools in Hawaii and have enjoyed the sympathetic support of the Island community down through the years may account for the difference between minister and layman opinion in the matter of supplemental aid.

In the matter of denominational responsibility, it is interesting to note that at each point where clergy and lay leaders differ it is a national or political issue, and laymen seem to be calling for greater involvement on the part of the denomination. Though local, the threat of strikes is a very live political problem in Hawaii and lay leaders believe it should be more a denominational concern than do the ministers.

With only one exception, both groups are agreed that local issues should be the immediate concern of the church council. Beginning with pari-mutuel betting and the sale of obscene literature, both give a similar, if not the same, rank of importance for most subjects. The exception is that of aid to parochial schools. Here, again, it seems to be a matter of attitude concerning the importance of this issue at any level of responsibility. It should be noted that ministers feel that this is an issue that ought to be of primary importance to all groups, whereas the laymen rank it far down the list not only for individuals but for church and inter-church groups as well.

## VI. OPINIONS OF HONOLULU MINISTERS AND LAY LEADERS AS TO LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION WHICH DENOMINATIONAL AND CHURCH COUNCIL COMMITTEES CAN OFFER TO LOCAL CHURCHES

The open-ended questions of the survey gave respondents an opportunity to express opinion apart from alternative answers. Though tabulation was difficult, the conclusions are perhaps of more value than those arrived at by more exact statistics. The author used the written answers, as well as opinions expressed in interviews, and noted the frequency of subjects mentioned. Certain conclusions seemed to predominate, and these became the basis for the evaluation of the general opinion of church leaders. Special note has also been taken of answers that express interesting views contrary to the consensus.

This question sought to determine the opinion of Honolulu churchmen as to the relationship between social action programs of denominations and church councils, and the strategy and leadership for social action needed by the local church. Respondents seem primarily concerned with what council and denominational committees could do to awaken social consciousness and to implement community programs. Answers cover a wide range, but certain concerns about inter-church leadership appear again and again. Foremost of these is the continuing and apparently unmet need for information. More than half of those that answered this question speak of the necessity of alerting local churches to opportunities for social witness. In particular, both ministers and laymen feel that congregations should be apprised of pending State and Federal legislation. Second to this in number of times mentioned is the need for direct, vigorous leadership at the

denominational and council level expressed in actual plans for social action. "Denominations and council must transcend their 'middle-class ethos,'" writes a Congregational minister. "Protestant leadership is identified with 'moral' issues such as gambling and alcohol, for which coercive and effective pressure tactics are often applied. But issues such as low-income housing, land reforms, consumer protection, poverty, are just as 'moral,' and on these there is profound silence." Though echoing this desire for more aggressive leadership, other answers are more commendatory of denominational and council social concern. The Campbell and Pettigrew study of Little Rock ministers drew this conclusion about denominational relationships:

The advice relationship between ecclesiastical officials and younger ministers was to dampen the purposive action by urging them to go slow and by reminding them of the prospects of permanent damage to the work of the church.<sup>11</sup>

Though no social crisis has arisen in Hawaii to equal the conflict between minister and community that accompanied school integration in Little Rock, one can still say with certainty that inter-church leadership in the Islands is supportive of local church actions and is comparatively free from bondage to the status-quo. If anything, the Honolulu Council of Churches has been a goad rather than a damper to the social action of local congregations.

What Honolulu churchmen want from denominational and council leaders, therefore, are plans of action and suggested strategy by which they might be carried out. Drawing on his own experience with the

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<sup>11</sup> Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, Christians in Racial Crisis (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1959), p. 89.

Honolulu Council, the author is sensitive at this point to answers from some respondents, in particular the independent church leaders and the ministers and laymen of non-cooperating churches. For example, all Southern Baptists responded to this question with the request that the council raise public opposition to any use of tax funds for schools or hospitals in any way sponsored by religious organizations. This is in line with the concern of the denomination nationally; however, to quote one Baptist layman, "The council should make its stand clear, then churches will know if they are going to take a stand or not or whether to give support." The mistaken assumption implicit in this request that the council is an entity apart from the cooperative efforts of churches is prevalent not only among non-members but among many member congregations and ministers as well. Vital and aggressive leadership can come only from a council that is made up of representative churchmen who are willing to ascertain democratically the areas of community life where social action is most needed and who are sufficiently secure in their church and denominational relationships that they can move their congregations into as much support of cooperative effort as possible. Waiting to see what "they" suggest to churches and then deciding whether or not to have one's people support it is the very antithesis of what is meant by participation in conciliar action.

Regarding social action education, some respondents voice the concern, well put by a Presbyterian layman, that "such stands should be based strongly upon the Judaeo-Christian codes and not upon expedience." Many seem to feel that the further away from the local church setting, the greater the tendency for ecclesiastical authority to deal with

social conflict in the secular terms of power politics of which community acceptance is the central criterion. Both clergy and laymen speak of the need for inter-church leadership to provide motivation and inspiration for social action. One Lutheran (ALC) pastor puts it as a challenge to laymen, minister and church administrator alike when he writes: "The churches must first of all provide a kerygmatic framework. This is no retreat into the vertical piety of individualism, but a frank acknowledgment that the Gospel is the treasure we hold to motivate, share and proclaim." Many feel that mainland speakers and resource people in various areas of social concern are needed to stimulate local churches. Others speak of the need for recognized, knowledgeable authorities who can speak on behalf of the church and command the respect of the non-churched in dealing with the complex issues of community life. Regarding other strategy for social action education, a Methodist pastor suggests the institution of pilot projects in community action, "where education can take place in fact rather than in abstract discussions." A lay leader of the First Korean Methodist Church points up another factor with which many agree: "There must be education in advance of crisis. It seems that nothing is done until the crisis occurs. For example, when the gambling bill comes up in the Legislature, there is a frantic harried move to defeat it. It would be better if the leaders and people were educated on the evils of the bill long before the crisis happens, this through talks and discussions." Others agree with the Episcopal clergyman who sees the greatest contribution of denomination and council committees as that of helping local churches concentrate on the key issues in social conflict. "Let them alert local

church committees as to legislative action and pertinent social problems. Offer educational materials so that a group may sift the issues before it goes off half-cocked." Another suggests that in order to gain a hearing among laymen today facts should be presented in an "attractive, workable bundle."

Education for social action requires communication between inter-denominational leadership and the local congregation. Respondents speak not so much of the need for representation on denominational and council committees as the need for these representatives to "report back" to their congregations. The sharing of literature and materials across denominational lines is suggested, as is the maintenance by the church council of files on public issues past and present. Education of denominational authorities themselves regarding strategy for social action is the concern of one Congregational layman. "Only in the event that they ascertain that they speak for the entire group should there be any action." He speaks for many who register the fear that denominations and councils are speaking for the churches rather than to the churches. As expected, this is the great concern of the independent ministers who answered the questionnaire. "Ideas should come from the bottom up...We do not need to be told by a few brain-trusters what to do," says one. "Leadership is a word I am becoming afraid of," says another. The Jewish Rabbi writes that "complete autonomy for local churches on social action issues is vital, but leadership has to come from the various denominational headquarters and from the council of churches." A Lutheran pastor suggests a strategy for denominations and councils as they determine strategy for local churches in social action.

"Education is important; supply churches with information, facts, help guide thinking on all phases and sides of an issue. Work for the development of gradual consensus, rather than adopting hard and fast rules or legislation, so that those concerned will grow in appreciation of all points of view."

By far the most useful answers given to this question but the most difficult for denominational authorities to accept, are the suggestions by both ministers and laymen of ways in which ecclesiastical leaders could strengthen the council program. Comity agreements, for example, are called for as a witness to church and community that denominations are sincere about ecumenicity and willing to sacrifice autonomy for a united effort in social concerns. Additional council staff is proposed to administer a cooperative program of social action education and application. The hybrid nature of many denominations in Hawaii makes difficult cooperation that seems both logical and Christian. Many, even of the major denominations, work within a mission status that causes greater reliance upon mainland resources and affiliations than upon local, interdenominational cooperation. The disproportionate size of denominational work in Hawaii, depending upon the time that the denomination has been in the Islands, the aggressiveness of its church enlistment and building efforts, its financial support from mainland sources, makes comity considerations a very complex and soul-searching experience for denominational executives. Constantly in need of staff for their own state-wide commitments, it is always difficult for them to underwrite or to have their churches support new personnel for inter-church programs. This appraisal is not intended as an excuse for

denominational lethargy toward inter-denominational activities, but it is offered, out of experience, as a possible explanation.

Two laymen summarized the kind of leadership and strategy which inter-church groups can offer to the local congregation. The one says, "We need leaders in step with changing social backgrounds that can make the Gospel relevant to the times." The other points out, "Conversation is fine and will stir some people to action, but nothing really happens until interchange takes place where the action is - at the 'gut-level' so called."

#### VII. A COMPARISON OF DENOMINATION AND COUNCIL EXECUTIVE VIEWS TO MINISTER AND LAY-LEADER OPINION CONCERNING SOCIAL ACTION LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY

In order to evaluate the influence of denominations and councils upon the social action of ministers and churches, interviews were held with the General Secretary of the Congregational Conference (United Church of Christ), the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese and the Executive Director of the Honolulu Council of Churches. The Methodist Superintendent was not on Oahu at the time of the author's visit, but returned answers to the questionnaire that were indicative of time spent in thoughtful consideration. Interviews were centered around the questions asked of ministers and laymen, and the author recorded impressions along with answers. For the most part, the opinions of these church leaders parallel those of their ministers. In the comparison that follows, the author has attempted to understand rather than to explain the points at which they differ.

Regarding the most important accomplishments in social action for their denomination over the past two years, it is significant that all mentioned the cooperative effort of the letter-writing campaign in support of the Civil Rights Bill that was instituted and directed by the council. This was a systematic program of help given to local churches, such as printed resumes of the Bill, sample content for letters, names and addresses of House Members, suggested ways to stimulate writing. In addition, a statement was drawn up by the council, signed by church and denominational leaders, and distributed to all members of Congress by the Senator and Representative from Hawaii. Sermons on civil rights given in Honolulu churches were sent to Hawaii's Congressmen and some were inserted in the Congressional Record. Two executives mentioned recent campaigns against legalized gambling and efforts to establish an ongoing citizens committee. The Congregational leader feels that his churches were instrumental in making the community aware of the issues involved in the State Land Reform Bill. The Episcopal Bishop spoke of diocesan conferences and the distribution of materials that alerted his churches to their national program in support of civil rights.

As to elements peculiar to Hawaii that influence social action, all four attest to the interdenominational cooperation that characterizes Island church life. They also mention the overdrawn, but nevertheless important, feeling of "aloha" that makes Hawaii more favorable than other locations to discussions of social issues. Two speak of the strong military influence in the Islands that makes difficult a clear or strong stand in favor of peace movements. As one puts it, "A recent visit of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Peace Study Mission was kept at

arms-length by most people." The fact that a good deal of financial support of churches comes from vested interests, some believe, discourages strong positions on matters such as a recent Land Bill before the Legislature. Part of this, as other respondents mention, is the general disfavor, approaching almost a guilt feeling, in which the community holds any action that might be interpreted as failure to provide for the Hawaiian people. The Council Executive mentions the innate and historical conservatism of the Oriental that tends to mitigate social concern, and suggests that only now are Haole churchmen realizing that this is a fact that must be considered in developing and executing programs to deal with social conflict.

Regarding leadership roles in social action, it is to be expected that administrators would feel that denominational committees most frequently initiate social action programs. Denominational efforts obviously begin with denominational committee work. Undoubtedly this is the reason that none of the four agree with their clergy or laymen that the minister initiates social action. However, it does say something for the efficacy of the question when the one whose individual churches have the most active social action programs, marks the local church committee as initiator. It is also of interest that the Council Executive does not feel that social action begins with interdenominational committees.

Two of the church administrators agree with the majority of their clergy that participating in group decisions is the most effective role of the minister. The other two feel that the minister's taking the initiative himself is the way to "get the job done."

Contrasts were also made of denominational leaders with their own people by comparison of mean scores, and the Council Executive to all opinions by percentage of those that agreed with him. Conclusions are quite different, not only between the denominational executives but between them and their own churchmen. The Episcopal Bishop speaks optimistically of all means listed as effective strategy except resolutions by local church boards. The Congregational Conference Secretary mentions only public statements by ministers, individual participation in public demonstrations and council conferences as moderately effective strategies. The Methodist Superintendent's views are very similar to those of his ministers and laymen. The Council Executive, on the other hand, is much less convinced than both ministers and laymen that the strategies listed would elicit community response. Public statement by the individual minister is the only strategy he feels to be effective. In this, the denominational heads differ most widely from the consensus of minister opinion which judges this strategy ineffective. It is interesting that, with one exception, denominational leaders believe denominational conferences to be ineffective.

A similar comparison was made of denominational executives and churchmen as to leadership responsibility in specific areas of social concern. Denominational heads tend to feel that individuals, local churches, denominations and church council are all equally responsible for leadership in social action. It may be that the interview situation produces this kind of answer, whereas the filling out of a questionnaire effects a more selective response. Whatever the reason, the church and council administrators seem to have a wider perspective than

either their clergy or lay leaders concerning leader responsibility.

In the matter of the endorsement of political candidates, denominational leaders share the common conviction that this is an individual concern. As regards local problems, the executives are in agreement with a majority of their people that all church groups must publicly express their concern about, for example, the introduction of pari-mutuel gambling into the Islands. However, in the proposal to allow the consumption of alcoholic beverages in public parks, though they share the opinion of laymen that it is a community problem, they differ with their clergy who hold it to be primarily the concern of the individual. In questions pertaining to the revision of divorce laws, aid to parochial schools and the sale of obscene literature, again a difference appears in that ministers believe that the individual should show more public responsibility, whereas the laymen look to the council for leadership, and the executives feel that all are equally responsible. In the issue of fair housing covenants, church leader opinion corresponds to the majority of Honolulu churchmen that the council has primary responsibility for leadership. As to Sunday closing laws, denominational heads are divided in their answers. Two of them feel that all are responsible, one favors the individual, another, the denomination. Ministers and lay leaders feel that the council must make the public witness. About the same comparison can be made of attitudes toward leadership in strike situations. The executives favor church action, ministers look to individuals to influence labor-management conflict, and laymen look primarily to conciliar action.

The author was particularly interested in the reactions of

denominational and council executives to conflict situations that are removed from the local scene; i.e., birth control, Medicare, the use of UNESCO materials in schools, etc. Unlike the ministers and laymen who, surprisingly, on these matters tend to look somewhat more to individual than to church action, denominational heads mark denomination and council as having primary responsibility for leadership. Discussion of these areas with executives gave the author the impression that they feel the denominations and council, nationally, have leadership and materials available that are neither used nor appreciated by local churches. On the issue of Medicare there is a noticeable difference between the opinions of three of the four executives and the consensus of their churchmen. Whereas 75% of minister respondents and 79% of lay leaders believe this to be primarily the individual's concern, the denominational and council heads believe all groups to share responsibility. Concerning the questions of religious observances in public schools and tax exemption of church property, all four agree with the majority of respondents that these are problems which are best presented to the public by all church groups, in particular by denominations and council.

The author expected from these executives a defense of present programs in answer to the question of what additional leadership and strategy denominational and council committees might offer to local churches. One was frank to say that he feels that local groups are ineffective and need the forthrightness of national efforts. Another speaks of the need for information, motivation, education and outside leadership, all of which echo the main concerns of both ministers and laymen. The Executive Director, not in defense of but in witness to the

leadership which the Honolulu Council is giving to the churches, outlined the program of his Public Affairs Committee that is actively involved in the issues of public housing, unemployment compensation and race relations. It is sponsoring an inner-city ministry that has enlisted the help of other community agencies in meeting the needs of two low-income, problem housing areas.

From past personal experience and from these recent interviews, the author is more convinced than ever that inter-church and inter-denominational ties in Hawaii are unique, and offer opportunities for concerted effort in resolving social conflict that can be found in few places.

#### VIII. ATTITUDES OF HONOLULU CHURCHMEN CONCERNING INTER-FAITH COOPERATION AND SOCIAL ACTION

Hawaii is perhaps the only place in the world where people of Christian and Buddhist faiths share equal status, rights and responsibility for the community. Different sects of Buddhism, Shintoism and Chinese Taoist-Confucianism give a denominational breadth to the Oriental religions that are practiced in the Islands. The English-speaking, thoroughly modern and highly educated Japanese and Chinese lay leaders of temple congregations are adding new dimensions to these age-old faiths, most noticeable of which are those of social concern. This question was asked: "Would you favor an inter-faith (Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, and others) council or a social action committee of this group speaking or acting on social issues?" Twenty-nine ministers (55% of respondents) and eighteen laymen (56% of respondents) replied

that they would accept the guidance of an inter-faith council in matters of social action.

Many answers imply commitment to a universal ethic. As one Congregational layman puts it, "While different faiths approach problems from the various sources of their individual disciplines, they have in common the factor of concern for things that are creative rather than destructive." Another says, "A better community gives men more freedom. Christ came to set men free. If an inter-faith group can aid in this direction, and it seems that it can, then we should encourage it." Even among the conservative churchmen there is a witness to this common cause. A Southern Baptist pastor says, "Moral and social issues concern all peoples and thus transcend theological differences." The majority feel that it is because of the united religious voice representing a larger segment of the community that an inter-faith council would be productive of social concern. An Episcopal minister writes: "In an age that understands constellations of power, group action packs a wallop." An Episcopal layman adds, "It is not so much faith that is at stake, but the whole social order."

Some, though they favor an inter-faith council, feel that other functions are more realistic. Many express the thought that cooperative community action must be a by-product of inter-faith discussion and fellowship rather than a primary objective. One says that even if local churches would not accept the suggestions of their inter-faith representative, just the coming together of different religious groups would help to ease tensions. Another, a Congregational layman, offers this thought, "Although an inter-faith council could not speak for the

individual, still the individual could gain strength from it and, under its leadership, find the strength to speak for himself." Though it is just a beginning, the Unitarian Church, the Jewish Synagogue, the Honpa Hongwangi Mission of the Buddhist faith, and an Episcopal parish have organized a community worship service around the Thanksgiving theme that has, in a limited way, challenged the social consciousness of church people in Honolulu.

Nine ministers and one layman favor an inter-faith approach to social action only if certain conditions are met. Some show real understanding of the problems that face non-sectarian groups when they try to deal with social conflict in more than just a superficial, "bringing people together" way. Many feel that doctrinal and cultural differences would handicap effective action. Others qualify their answers by accepting an inter-faith approach only for particular problems. In this, like many of those who strongly favor the organization of such a council, they betray a reservation which has doomed all past attempts at inter-faith action to the level of pleasant social gatherings. One minister's reaction is typical. "I would favor such a representative council speaking on behalf of my church when it would not compromise a Christian attitude." Another qualifies his answer: "There is need for a wider consensus in community thinking, but it should not supplant the operation of a distinctly Christian witness." A Christian could hardly object to or oppose these limitations, but it has been the author's experience in this, as in other inter-denominational efforts, that there is a tendency to translate "Christian attitude" and "distinct Christian witness" into that which a church, denomination or individual minister

believes the attitude or witness to be. In practice it is something less than the investment of mutuality and understanding that is necessary for any productive inter-faith work.

Some respondents limit their endorsement because they recognize this problem. "The church is too sectarian," one says, "and it is not willing to involve itself." "I would favor such a council," another writes, "only if it was more than a discussion or social group, and if it would confront the thorniest issues, and if the organizations of each religion would agree to take its recommendations seriously." A Congregational and a Lutheran pastor suggest a solution. Laymen, they say, are the key to the effectiveness of inter-faith efforts, because laymen can interpret them not only to the local church but to their occupational circles as well. Laymen should lead a council such as this in order that social concerns be given priority rather than doctrinal differences. It is interesting that the Buddhist respondents seem pessimistic about inter-faith efforts. For them, the first thing to work for must be fellowship rather than social action. One Zen Buddhist was being traditional as well as practical when he wrote: "What is needed before all else is real conversation. We must crawl before we can walk."

Seven ministers and three laymen say that they do not favor an inter-faith council. Four of these, three being Oriental, claim that the Buddhists are simply not interested in social action. Some of the independent ministers are the most vociferous. "NEVER!" writes the pastor of the Bethel Fellowship. "Our only relationship to non-Christian groups should be that of an evangelist." "No," says the

pastor of the Central Oahu Christian Church, "it is inconsistent with Christianity. 'Be not yoked with the unbeliever.'" However, the minister of the equally conservative First Community Church, Inc., answers, "Yes! All these religious groups possess more or less similar convictions on moral issues. Studying as a group they can express their individual convictions and thereby crystallize the best common convictions for the community."

Denominational executives reflect the gamut of minister and lay-leader opinion. Two say that the wider voice would be more effective. One believes it would be innocuous because the Oriental religious groups have no real concern about social action. The Council Executive qualifies his endorsement to the effect that on some issues an inter-faith approach is desirable, such as civil rights; but on others, such as gambling, Christian churches acting together can speak more clearly--"the guide as to degree of mutual cooperation being the degree to which mutual involvement is indicated."

There is no simple "yes" or "no" answer to the question of the effectiveness of an inter-faith group for social action. The answer which the author believes best sums up the questionnaire responses to this particular concern is that of a Filipino Methodist minister who writes: "I would favor this provided we get enlightened people to serve on such a committee. (I suppose this can be said of everything else.) But, really, I believe this is especially true in relationship to social issues. These issues cut across religious, economic and social lines and there is no reason in the world why we could not act and speak together. Where there is real difference in philosophy I believe

we can be intelligent enough to recognize it."

## CHAPTER V

### LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION IN DEALING WITH LABOR-MANAGEMENT CONFLICT

In a letter to the Christian Century, dated October 21, 1946, the Executive Director of the Honolulu Council of Churches reported that a joint fact-finding committee of the Honolulu Ministerial Union and the social action committee of the Council had studied the territory-wide sugar strike, then in its eighth week, and had called for the following steps to improve the situation: (1) dissemination of actual facts, uncolored by emotional bias among the entire population, (2) an end to the vicious and misleading propaganda issued by both parties and a "climate of clear, wise thinking" in its place, (3) speedy reopening of negotiations by the two groups, and (4) repentance by the churches for their failure to instill truly Christian principles in all areas of life. The correspondent ended his report by saying that the statement was being well received as a clear enunciation of the Christian point of view on the present situation.

The 1946 strike continued for seventy-nine days, touched every person in the Islands, raised the hourly minimum wages from 43 cents to 70 cents and converted one of the least unionized areas in the United States into one of the most militantly organized. It also expressed something of the bitterness which has marked management-labor relationships in Hawaii's sugar, pineapple and shipping industries. Major strikes from 1924 to 1957 have caused violence, crippled business, sent unemployment soaring and stirred the Hawaiian community to fever pitch.

In the midst of these conflicts the church in Hawaii has been looked to for leadership, but, unlike the response in 1946, its efforts have too often been limited or nullified by the lack of strategy in social action.

Yet, just as the Islands' labor picture has seen vast changes in recent years, so the church has gradually been developing more effective leadership in the resolution of management-labor conflict. R. S. O. Stevens in his article, "Man in an Industrial Society," was speaking of the Church of England, but could well have been speaking of the church in Hawaii, when he wrote:

How in fact and in practice this can be worked out is, one has to say, a matter of responsiveness to the actual, living, concrete human situation, and where that situation is concerned, we are called not to be creators or manipulators but responders. It is no use formulating plans, objectives, goals. The only goal which the Christian minister, clerical or lay, can set himself is the goal of being as responsive as possible to the demands that God in the situation makes upon him.<sup>1</sup>

The steps which ministers and laymen called for to improve the strike situation in 1946 are as applicable to the maintenance of the industrial peace that prevails in Hawaii today as they were to the problems that existed then. The important thing is that, understanding the nature of labor-management conflict, one is willing to respond to the demands that God in the situation makes upon him.

#### I. LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

A job is much more than a source of income in an industrial society. Studies of workers have shown that differences in wage rates

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<sup>1</sup>R. S. O. Stevens, "Man in an Industrial Society," Modern Churchman (October, 1961), 33.

are felt to be more important than the rates themselves because differences are a more significant measure of the fulfillment of status and function needs. Profit and production, on the other hand, are the measure of industrial health, for it is a truism that the business that cannot show a profit cannot survive. By the same impersonal, economic logic, workers must be laid off in slack times in order that profit be maintained. But, this is a logic that does not connect with human needs, and it is in objection to this subordination of the individual's livelihood to an impersonal force that the labor movement has both right and power. These it has expressed in institutional form so that today the union stands in countervailing relationship to management and the state. It is of the nature of institutions, however, that they strive for the total allegiance of their members.

Each institution in its own inner logic tends to be all-embracing, laying claim to the entire man, and showing an impelling tendency to assume all responsibility in society. Institutional friction and instability are, therefore, the normal state of society and the hope of peace and quietude is an idle dream. Completion, imbalance, and friction are not merely continuous phenomena in society, but in fact, are evidences of vitality and normality.<sup>2</sup>

By these criteria labor-management relations in the nation in general and in Hawaii in particular have been both vital and normal, for having been marked by periods of imbalance and friction, they seem now to have moved toward a state of greater maturity in which a heritage of strife has given way to greater cooperation.

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<sup>2</sup>Frank Tannenbaum, "The Balance of Power in Society," Political Science Quarterly (December, 1946), 12.

### A. The Industrial Enterprise

J. Irwin Miller, industrialist and first layman president of the National Council of Churches, has said that in our time American society is more visibly shaped and swayed by the influence of business than by that of any other group. It is business which determines most of the appearance of our daily lives, our houses, the things found in them, the fashions we wear, the hours we keep, the thoughts we think. To put it in Peter Drucker's terms:

In every industrial country the enterprise has emerged as the decisive, the representative and the constitutive institution. It is very much the same institution whether it takes the form of the privately owned and independently managed corporation in the United States, of the government corporation of Britain's nationalized industries or of the Soviet 'Trust' in a completely government-owned and government-controlled economy. Whether industrial society is organized under Capitalism, Socialism, Fascism, or Communism, the enterprise and its central institution, looks alike, behaves alike, and faces similar decisions and difficulties.<sup>3</sup>

The industrial enterprise is characterized by its autonomy. It is independent of the state, creates most of its own laws and controls itself apart from ownership. Ultimately it stands under the judgment of society, but society seems curiously unafraid of powerful groups and uses them and allows them to flourish when they serve even passably well. Whether called "big business," corporation or industrial enterprise, it is the most important element in modern society. Whereas it is assumed that the basic problems in our industrial culture can be solved by changing the "system," the fact is that it is the solution of

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<sup>3</sup>Peter F. Drucker, The New Society (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), p. 151.

the problems of the enterprise that will shape the politico-economic system of the future. Even though the great majority of people do not work for one of the large industrial enterprises, their livelihood, their values, beliefs and social satisfactions are dependent on them. The bigness of the industrial enterprise makes its stability and maintenance a concern of society. Its collapse would endanger the very existence of our industrial culture. To run at a profit is the first social duty of enterprise, for its survival depends upon economic performance.

The enterprise is the steward for society's always limited productive resources. Some of these resources are intangible: skills, experience, 'know-how.' Some are human: labor, some material, capital. The organization of men, materials and machines into a productive unit is in itself a major resource. The minimum responsibility the enterprise has to society is the preservation of these resources at the same productive strength they had when they were entrusted to the enterprise.<sup>4</sup>

The size of the industrial enterprise and its strategic place in our economy have also brought into being a management separate from ownership whose primary responsibility is to the enterprise rather than to owner, worker or consumer.

#### B. The Nature of Management

The divorce of management control from enterprise ownership that characterized the modern industrial society is in the public interest because it is an expression of the fundamental concern that the enterprise must not be operated to the benefit of any one group, whether stockholders, workers or consumers, but in the interest of society. As

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

a consequence, management is the ruling group of an industrial culture. Its decisions ultimately affect the lives and livelihood of all citizens and its principles ultimately determine the character of society. Management's responsibility is not only to the economic well-being of the enterprise but to its political and social functions as well. However, no matter how solicitous management may be of worker welfare or community betterment, it still must put the health of the enterprise before any other economic or social consideration. It also has the duty of promoting trends that are likely to further the prosperity of the enterprise, and to obstruct those likely to weaken it.

For all its reputation for efficiency, American business managements still know of the possibilities of enormous improvements, each of great benefit to society, which are available to be made within every business. Such improvements are for the most part not easily accomplished, and their doing requires intelligence and hard work, but the possibility of them is there.<sup>5</sup>

Where management has not accepted the responsibility of workable policies and practices, of research and development, public regulation and restriction have been the reaction of society.

One misapprehension on the part of the public makes the task of management more difficult. As Drucker points out, the majority of the American people are convinced that the profits of "big business" are tremendous, estimating them to be twenty-five per cent of sales, when in reality even a good year will produce only a five per cent profit. It is also assumed that profits are many times larger than wages, whereas actually profits are rarely more than one-tenth of wages. But,

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<sup>5</sup>J. Irwin Miller, The World of Business and the Church (New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1961), p. 8.

in his resentment of the wealth of high income groups, the worker often rejects the entire principle of profitability. While this is going too far, he does raise genuine issues as to whether profits should be calculated on sales or on investment, and as to how the economic product should be divided.

### C. The Manager

It is natural in a culture where authority and responsibility are expressed in salary terms that the incomes of top executives seem exorbitant. However defensible, it is still contrary to the spirit of our society which accepts ideals of equal rights and opportunities.

High salaries appear, since

an ever smaller number of managers in big business, big labor and big government rests an ever greater share of the total authority exercised in society. This is in large part the consequence of the kind of technology in industry and in communications that dictates ever larger and larger units for efficiency- and convenience-in production.<sup>6</sup>

As Marquis Childs points out, this concentration of power puts a great strain on the individual manager. The temptation to pride, to arrogance, and to the unrestrained use of authority is always present.

The enterprise recognizes only one prestige system: the economic prestige system; and only one contribution: contribution to economic performance. It has no room for the prestige, satisfaction and authority that come from the personal standing in the community, from group leadership, from social and civic responsibility. It knows only promotion.<sup>7</sup>

Another evidence of power concentration is that opportunities for

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<sup>6</sup>Marquis W. Childs and Douglass Cater, Ethics in a Business Society (New York: American Library, 1954), p. 162.

<sup>7</sup>Drucker, op. cit., p. 188.

advancement from the bottom scarcely any longer exist. Yet, if it is to his plant community that a man looks for the fulfillment of his aspirations for success and social recognition, how great is the need for opportunity to advance to managerial positions as a consequence of loyalty, leadership and ability. It is understandable, therefore, that labor unions should want to share responsibilities for almost every management area, and effectively to express their concern about the principles and the practices that govern the industrial enterprise.

#### D. The Nature of Labor

It is the very existence and function of management, committed to the principle of profitability in the industrial enterprise, that has given birth and increasing significance to the labor movement. Contrary to common assumption, unionism does not owe its existence to the "sins" of past "unenlightened" managements. Though management policies have affected the timing of union development, the rise of labor as a countervailing force is inherent in the very nature of industrial society.

Today, unions are well established and secure in most major industries of the nation. Their members number eighteen million. They negotiate 100,000 contracts covering the working rules that guide and govern important aspects of the life of industrial men in nearly every trade and every industry, and in nearly every city and town. Organized labor, on the whole, is rather well up the income scale, though the anachronism that labor is downtrodden carries on. It derives in part from the truly shocking conditions in the early days of the factory

system which set the tone for Marxism and the early literature of social reform. Present-day trade union members fall within the middle-income rather than the low-income groups, and the "underprivileged" are more apt to be found among the non-organized wage receivers, the unemployed, old people, pensioners and others.

However, as Walter Muelder has written:

The rights of workers to join associations of their own choosing is a much deeper issue of personality in community than can be measured by economics. Unions give John Doe a face and a name. Here in part are satisfied the needs of freedom of action, self-expression and creative outlet...activities enhance a feeling of power, adequacy, solidarity, community significance and of welfare and service. So satisfying a wide range of human needs, unions have become a powerful force in American life.<sup>8</sup>

Security rather than the wage rate is the central concern of the worker and thus tension between management and labor continues whether wages are high or low. The central issue in the conflict is management's view of labor as a commodity as over against labor's view of itself as a resource. Shall the need of the enterprise or the need of the employee be the basis for determining the function of the wage?

Is wage to be considered primarily a current cost incurred in payment for a commodity consumed in the productive process? Or is it primarily a future cost of conserving and increasing the human resources of production?

Basic to any resolution of labor-management conflict must be a recognition and acceptance on the part of management and the public that labor is a capital resource and must be invested for long-term

<sup>8</sup>Walter George Muelder, Religion and Economic Responsibility (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 99.

<sup>9</sup>Drucker, op. cit., p. 76.

objectives with long-term security. This transforms wages into predictable income, thought of not only as a cost of current production but as something the security and stability of which must be estimated against the long-term costs of staying in business. Unlike property, which gives its owner power to withhold it from sale or consumption while still receiving income from it, labor is highly perishable and cannot be stored for later use. Labor has fixed expenses. Whether employed or unemployed, the worker and his family need food, shelter and clothing. If his labor power is lost, it affords neither income nor security against the future. This desire for security underlies the worker's resistance to increased productivity and technological progress. It imposes on him a risk of obsolescence. Industry can guard itself against this risk by research and development. Some individual workers can improve their skills and find other jobs; however, the average laborer has no guaranteed protection. An increase in his efficiency will not help him if automation has replaced his job or the factory has moved from the place in which he lives.

Because the primary demand of the worker is for social status and function, of which the wage rate is the symbol, the union is a political institution and therefore its concern is power rather than economic production, income or profit. Its task must be that of a continual assertion of the purposes of the worker against the purposes of management. However, it is this role of constantly opposing the industrial enterprise that produces an inherent insecurity in the labor movement and potential conflict in labor-management relations. No matter how strong the union may appear to be, by its very nature it must

be in a subordinate, friction-producing relationship to management. For this reason the union demands that its members look to it for leadership and authority, and for this reason, the power of union leaders is a continual concern in an industrial society.

#### E. The Labor Leader

With the rise of the union official to a position of power, there has developed a kind of representative government in industrial relations. Power rests with the officials, and not with the rank and file. The officials hold the initiative, formulate demands, call strikes, conduct negotiations, and administer and enforce the system of rules in the collective agreement.<sup>10</sup>

The spread of unionism has not meant that the ordinary worker has gained direct power. Rather, by joining even a democratic organization, he hands himself over to a certain extent to the discretionary control of a new set of leaders, who give form, content, and direction to his basic strivings. The functions, powers and responsibilities of the labor leader did not exist before unions were accepted as representative agents of working groups, and most leaders today have grown with the movement during its difficult struggle for recognition.

The power of the labor leader is a political one. His authority rests upon his election as spokesman for the workers he represents; therefore, his decisions must of necessity reflect both the wishes of the organization and his own desire for re-election.

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<sup>10</sup>George Hildebrand, "American Unionism, Social Stratification, and Power," (Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1954), p. 383.

As a political leader he has to weigh expediency against policy, the interests and desires of his constituents against his own convictions and principles, and the good of the members against the necessity to maintain the union as a strong and unified institution.<sup>11</sup>

Complicating the task of the union leader is the fact that whereas up to the point of union recognition or of negotiation settlement he must lead an all-out opposition to the claims of management; once the contract has been signed, it is his task to enforce it against his own members and discipline those who violate it. On the one hand he will lose his place of leadership if the union does not live up to its contract, and on the other he must be a spokesman for management against his own people.

These relationships place union leadership in compromise situations in time of industrial crisis which defy the simple moral judgments of black and white that the emotions in the public mind and the religious mind demand.<sup>12</sup>

Union leaders must arouse ambition for gains in order to make it worthwhile for workers to support the union; then they are forced into rigid positions in negotiation in order to meet those demands. These inner tensions of unionism place almost unsurmountable obstacles in the path of responsible union leadership. As Peter Drucker says, considering the odds against them, it is amazing that there are so many capable and amenable union leaders.

A leader may be tempted to exercise totalitarian authority. The unscrupulous union head can maintain his control either by emphasizing the "anti" character of the union, or by suppressing all critics and

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<sup>11</sup>Drucker, op. cit., p. 134.

<sup>12</sup>Muelder, op. cit., p. 129.

rivals. Both have led to abuses by a few in labor which have brought unfair condemnation of the many. Will Herberg makes the point that having passed through its period of revolutionary zeal, it is difficult for a union to maintain the active support of the worker in union affairs.

A popular cure for the abuses of union government is more democracy. But this seems to have only limited possibilities. As long as things go well, the average union member doesn't want self-government, and is amazed and resentful when an attempt is made to force its responsibilities upon him. What he wants is protection and service, his money's worth for his dues.<sup>13</sup>

Bruce Morgan finds both the union and industry guilty of neglect.

It is the apathy of both labor and management toward corruption, mismanagement, shoddy workmanship and so-called bargaining issues which makes it possible for the real power to pass by default into the hands of those who are interested and strategically placed.<sup>14</sup>

This was certainly the concern of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, at its meeting in October, 1957, when part of its adopted statement read:

We commend the vast majority of union members who have labored to make of their unions a force for economic justice, social progress, and democratic community life. And we affirm our conviction that labor unions contribute both economically and morally to our modern industrial society. We further point out that the responsibility for corruption and racketeering does not lie exclusively with union officials who 'sell out' their unions. It lies equally with those, in management or elsewhere, who have bought favors from such officials or who, not engaging in such behaviour themselves, tacitly approve such practices by the industry, trade or profession in which they are engaged. And, ultimately, the responsibility is shared by all of us who participate and acquiesce in those aspects of our society which put a

<sup>13</sup>Will Herberg, "Bureaucracy and Democracy in Labor Unions," in Labor Unions and Public Policy edited by Edward H. Chamberlain, (Washington: American Enterprise Association, 1958), p. 44.

<sup>14</sup>Bruce Morgan, Christians, the Church and Property, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), p. 137.

premium on the making of maximum profits and the manipulation of man, in disregard of moral ends and human costs."

#### F. The Right to Strike

The ultimate weapon of the union, the abuse of which has produced the most conflict in labor-management relations, is the strike. Because the function of the union is one of opposition, its integrity depends in the last analysis on the "right to strike."

The strike does not mean that the union gains control of the enterprise, but rather that it keeps the enterprise from producing or from hiring other labor with which to produce. Where unions are a recognized part of industrial life, an additional purpose of the strike is an affirmation of union solidarity.

In effect, the strike in a union movement which no longer has to fight for recognition, is very much akin to the carefully arranged 'spontaneous' demonstrations of a totalitarian regime which serve at one and the same time as a propaganda device to impress the outside world and as a means to rally the followers and to strengthen their allegiance.<sup>15</sup>

More and more, the strike is being used to display the power of the union to its own members, to the public, or in intra-union disputes. Because of this, settlement becomes increasingly difficult in that the issue involved is not an economic one so much as it is an affirmation of union authority in which compromise is considered a defeat to union leadership.

Just as labor has tended to grow in size and power, so has strike action moved to an industry-wide basis. A strike across industry is actually one of pressure against society and government as well as

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<sup>15</sup>Drucker, op. cit., p. 119.

against the individual enterprise. This "ritual" strike is effective, then, in direct proportion to the social and economic damage it can inflict and the threat it can present to the life of the community.

Without question the center of gravity of power within society has, in recent time, shifted sharply in labor's direction, a shift sometimes described as from capitalism to laborism...Some look to a solution for current difficulties in a return to the 'good old days.' Others recognize the impossibility of turning back the clock or altering economic institutions and attempt to find new values, new attitudes, and new behaviour patterns as the basis for maintaining industrial peace. Certainly these new times and new institutions require a fresh approach to the labor problem, but we should not neglect the wisdom of the past in attempting to frame wise policies today.<sup>16</sup>

#### G. Labor and Management in Hawaii

Up to World War II a plantation economy dominated the life of the Islands. Its distinguishing feature was an agency system in which the growers and the business men in Honolulu cooperated in handling marketing, accounting, purchasing, shipping, insurance, research and many other central services. These "sugar factors" practiced a paternalistic authority over their multi-racial labor force, providing housing, company stores and medical services. During the thirties an economic middle class began to emerge, and some descendants of immigrant laborers became American business men. New Deal labor legislation, anti-monopoly programs and the extension of large mainland businesses gradually diminished the control of the factors over Island life. As on the mainland, there was a gradual transfer from ownership to managerial control, and new relationships to labor and the public were

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<sup>16</sup>Paul Sultan, Labor Economics (New York: Henry Holt, 1957), p. 14.

established. Even before the outbreak of World War II, the defense construction industry, supported by government contracts and owing little allegiance to the agency system, had become one of Hawaii's chief employers.

By far the greatest challenge to Island management predominance has been the rise of organized labor. A charter was granted to a typographical union as early as 1884, but not until the middle thirties did the labor movement gain any real foothold in Hawaii. At that time unionization began in the Island shipping industry under the sponsorship of the maritime unions of the West Coast, and then spread to the sugar and pineapple industries under the leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Unions with 51,000 members claim a third of the workers in Island industries. The I. L. W. U. is the most powerful single organization, though it is rivaled in size by the combined AFL-CIO unions. The Teamsters and other independents are much smaller.

In 1943 the Hawaii Employers Council was established in order that employers could preserve a united front against increasing labor demands.

That it proved less successful than expected - and also gave way on such issues as a union shop - is often blamed on the movement of mainland companies to the Islands after World War II.<sup>17</sup>

By the almost complete mechanization of planting and harvesting management has been able to meet the costs of what are now some of the highest

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<sup>17</sup>Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, Hawaii: A History (New York: Prentice Hall, 1948), p. 283.

paid agricultural workers in the world. Military spending and tourism have helped to absorb part of the labor force released by this automation.

## II. LABOR AND MANAGEMENT CONFLICT

Not all management-labor relations are problems. Hundreds of thousands of collective bargaining agreements are signed each year without trouble and all but a very few are concluded without strikes and walkouts. The path to the comparative industrial peacefulness of today, however, has not been an easy or a smooth one. It is important to understand the scope of labor-management conflict because it is latent in an industrial society and basic to any attempt at its resolution.

### A. The Political Struggle for Worker Allegiance

The history of labor-management conflict exposes an aspect of corporation and union development and also an aspect of economic philosophy, of which enlightened leaders of both groups are not proud. Animosity, violence, prejudice, arrogance - these have too often destroyed the opportunities for negotiation. Bishop Oxnam gave one explanation of this when he observed:

We make a mistake when we posit czars and cruelty on one side and revolutionaries and racketeering on the other. In the large, we are dealing with reasonable men whose real desire is to do the fair and the decent thing. But this we must believe. Most men fight because they believe principle is at stake. I have acted as arbitrator in a number of industrial disputes. Again and again I have been impressed by the fact that management sees in the autocratic principle a fundamental necessity of efficient

management, while labor, on the contrary, sees in the democratic principle a necessary requisite of efficient work.<sup>18</sup>

Both management and union must demand the loyalty of the worker, but this "split allegiance" is the basis for most tension and conflict.

Each move to strengthen the support of workers toward one side is regarded by the other as a direct attack. An increase in wages by management without a demand by labor is held to be an unfair labor practice. By the same token, suggestions by labor to supervisory personnel are considered attacks on local management. This places the worker in an insoluble conflict. If he has no loyalty to the company his work is bound to become perfunctory and meaningless, yet his need is for pride, pride in what he is doing, pride in his job. If he gives up his loyalty to the union he cannot help but appear in his own eyes as but a part of operating expenses, a cost unit in production.

Let us, however, not make the mistake that is so often made, of assuming that the loyalty of most union members to their unions is tenuous and that their attachment depends largely on coercion. This is simply and demonstrably not so, and the view has led us down many a legislative blind alley.<sup>19</sup>

Frederick Meyers points out that the original Taft-Hartley Act's provision for elections to authorize a union to demand union security measures was predicated on the supposition that many union members resented being represented under union shop agreements. Elections under the procedure actually demonstrated that almost everyone who worked in a union

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<sup>18</sup>G. Bromley Oxnam, Labor and Tomorrow's World (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945), p. 30.

<sup>19</sup>Frederic Meyers, "Unions, Anti-Trust Laws and Inflation," (Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1959), p. 38.

shop company favored the union shop.

But union paternalism (housing projects, vacation resorts, recreation facilities) has little more to recommend it than employer paternalism. Nor should union political activity infringe on the rights of the member as a citizen.

The traditional union political activities in the United States - lobbying in regard to legislation affecting unions and workers as workers, and distribution of informational data on the record of candidates in the same areas - do not interfere with the rights of the union member as citizen. Compulsory political levies and political strikes do interfere with these rights<sup>20</sup> and also with the proper functioning of a democratic society.

Somehow both labor and management must find a resolution to this conflict in a "twin allegiance." But this will also require a much more mature attitude on the part of the public than has existed in the past.

#### B. The Community and Labor-Management Conflict

Committed to the voluntarism of the pre-World I labor movement, Samuel Gompers could say:

The 'public' does not provide for the wage workers: it leaves them to pursue their own interests as best they may and all they owe the public, legally speaking, is respect for law.<sup>21</sup>

Today, labor-management conflict is a vital concern of the public because it is the community to which the appeals of both sides are made and on which the pressure of strike coercion is placed. In the conflict of "big business" and "big unions" it is the public that becomes the

<sup>20</sup>Clark Kerr, "Unions and Union Leaders of Their Own Choosing," (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Fund for the Republic, 1957), pp. 4-5.

<sup>21</sup>Louis S. Reed, The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), p. 31.

battleground of industrial disputes, though James Myers reminds us, not too facetiously:

Often the public, because of its tolerance of bad conditions, its lack of information of the issues involved, and its selfish indifference, is far from being as 'innocent' as it likes to believe.<sup>22</sup>

Contrary to Gomper's assumption, the public cannot allow the union to pursue its own interest. It must assure itself that these centers of economic and social power are democratically controlled. As Dean Muelder points out, the public has a tremendous stake in labor's capacity and ability to eliminate racial discrimination, to remain free from political domination, to aid the unskilled, the underpaid, the unorganized, the inarticulate and the disabled.

Unions have an obligation to the public with respect to the elimination of racketeering, the control of jurisdictional disputes, the movement of vital necessities, the availability of indispensable services, and the use of its power as it affects the costs of consumer's goods and services.<sup>23</sup>

The public character of labor-management relations, however, can create conflict both in interest and in the way that negotiations are practiced. Because the basic issue is one of power rather than of economics, "face saving" often leads both sides into rigid positions and a claim on terms more favorable than they actually expect to secure. In recent years, public opinion has become a football in the ideological effort of those who have tried to press the legitimate need for regulation of abuse and corruption in certain unions into a nation-wide

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<sup>22</sup>James Myers, Do You Know Labor?, (Washington: National Home Library Foundation, 1940), p. 33.

<sup>23</sup>Muelder, op. cit., p. 110.

campaign against all labor with the hope of shifting power to management. The international implications of the labor-management struggles have also been the cause of conflict.

### C. Labor-Management Conflict and World Tension

The workers' movements have always been the classic domain of Communist intrigue. In their periods of rapid expansion, unions in America have included Communists in their numbers and some have proven capable leaders. When they have put party loyalty first, adopted tactics inimical to good union practice, and attempted to use the labor movement for ulterior political purposes, most unions have been able to dismiss them. Actually, the number of Communists in unions is small; though it is difficult to draw general conclusions, because one tactic to divert attention from their adherence to the "party line" is by accusing all opposition of "red baiting." Drucker reminds us that as long as the Communist Party is not outlawed by government, denial of union membership to Communists is no different from denial of union membership to anybody else. However,

Any union must have the right to declare Communists ineligible to hold office in the union - just as any union should have the right to declare redheads or all people whose last name begins with "P" ineligible to hold office. The right to hold office in the union does not derive from the rights of the citizen. Nor is refusal to grant access to union office a denial of any basic right of citizenship. Indeed, any union that wants to maintain its cohesion and integrity had better declare Communists to be ineligible to hold union office.<sup>24</sup>

But equally important, this speaking in black and white terms of the Communist and the free world must not divert us from the fact that

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<sup>24</sup>Drucker, op. cit., p. 327.

most of the world's workers live in the grey areas where poverty is rampant and food for self and family is far more significant than the party allegiance of union leadership. Stable regimes, founded on political freedoms and reasonable hopes of economic improvement, have yet to be established in many countries. Victor Reuther, Director of the United Auto Worker's Department of International Affairs, points out that even in more advanced industrial areas of the West such as France and Italy, Communist-dominated unions have been able to limit the effectiveness of parliamentary rule and isolate vast numbers of workers from the community because these governments have not been able to balance freedom and justice. The remedy of the situation, Reuther says, is not an increase of propaganda crusades. Instead,

it means fruitful, continual collaboration in specific projects designed to change lives and minds: the decontamination of wells in Indian villages, the curing of ringworm, the training of native technicians, doctors, nurses, union leaders, the promotion of native tradeunions.<sup>25</sup>

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Trade Secretariats, and the International Labor Organization of cooperating governments are all central to the easing of world tensions. All need continued American participation and leadership.

#### D. Labor and Management Conflict in Hawaii

The history of unionization in the Islands has been marked by bitterness and violence. Before annexation, most of the contract laborers lived in unfamiliar surroundings, in tension with men of other

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<sup>25</sup>Victor G. Reuther, "America and World Labor," Social Action XXIV:5 (January, 1958), 11.

races, and were easily exploited. The public was so closely bound to the plantation economy that the general feeling prevailed that unions were not only unnecessary, but a threat to Island prosperity and well being. Most workers had come from Asiatic backgrounds where the labor movement was unknown, and the drawing of racial lines in early labor activities limited any united labor action. Language difficulties and differences in culture also divided allegiances to working-class ideals. Another detriment to unionization in Hawaii was the lack of competent leadership.

Drastic methods produced equally drastic results. In 1924, sixteen laborers and four policemen were killed during a labor strike on the Island of Kauai. In 1938, in the port of Hilo on the Island of Hawaii, thirty-six demonstrators were wounded by gunfire in a clash with police. National Labor Relations Board hearings in the Islands in 1938-39 gave opportunity for a public review of labor's grievances, and during the three years before the war unionization began in most Island industries. Labor chafed under the emergency controls of the military government, and the end of the war brought a wave of strikes demonstrating its demand for a greater share in the gains available in the postwar world. One of the most devastating of these was the maritime strike of the summer of 1949, when for 178 days the longshoremen's union prohibited shipping between the West Coast and Hawaii. This writer, having experienced the tension and seen the resentments that this and later strikes have caused, can witness to the conflict that labor-management relations have produced in the Islands and the need for continued resolution.

### III. LABOR AND MANAGEMENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Constructive principles applied to the office, factory, mill or shipping center are the basic cause of industrial-labor-peace. By whatever they are called - human relations, social engineering, managerial attitude, personnel practices - most employers and employees today use them sufficiently to settle their differences amicably without recourse to law, arbitration or adjudication. These principles have found expression in certain tested practices of labor-management relations, and conflict resolution in the future lies in their continued use and development. Basic to all is the acceptance by labor and management of the part that each must play in the industrial economy, and the focus of all is how the union can be made to function with the enterprise and yet discharge its opposition role.

The Causes of Industrial Peace published by the National Planning Association show how mutual respect for principles and applications of essentially moral truths in numerous plants have solved multifarious issues. Collective bargaining, attitudes towards private property and profits, cooperation in fringe benefits (health, old-age retirement plans, union security) have led to freedom from strikes in factories where labor and management have acted wisely.<sup>26</sup>

#### A. Collective Bargaining and Wage Policy

The hour-by-hour and day-by-day decisions in industrial relations are not concerned with the philosophy of labor or of management. They deal with the mundane matters of wage rates, working conditions, grievance procedures and fringe benefits which are the fundamental issues of

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<sup>26</sup>John Daniel, Labor, Industry and the Church (St. Louis: Concordia, 1954), p. 170.

collective bargaining. Section I of the Taft-Hartley Act makes clear the right of labor to bargain collectively. The trade-union is essentially a bargaining institution under capitalism, and collective bargaining is a method of compromise and rulemaking for the reconciliation of interests. The success of the some two hundred national unions in America today is based primarily upon their ability to solve the problems encountered on the job rather than on broad humanitarian programs, strong class allegiance or political action. The chief bargaining weakness of the individual laborer in dealing with his employer is that he is only a small part of a larger aggregate. This would make little difference if equally attractive alternative employment were available at no sacrifice; however, this is usually not the case. Therefore, collective bargaining by employees on all issues affecting them is no more monopolistic than the bargaining of the employer himself. Industrial peace lies in this dynamic relationship. The National Planning Association survey begins with this finding:

There is full acceptance by management of the collective bargaining process and of unionism as an institution. The company considers a strong union an asset to management. There are other causes of responsible industrial peace, but this one is fundamental.<sup>27</sup>

However, as Peter Drucker makes clear, as long as the focus of collective bargaining is upon the wage rate, it can never lead to resolution. This causes potential conflict in every economic and social issue of the labor-management relationship, even in those areas where interests and purposes are in essential harmony. The crucial fact is

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<sup>27</sup>Walter G. Muelder, "The Ethics of the Right to Work," Right-to-Work Laws (Washington: International Association of Machinists, 1954), p. 52.

that both the views of the enterprise and of the worker are right. Both the claim that labor is a commodity and that labor is a resource is well founded. A solution must somehow satisfy both the enterprise's demand for a flexible wage scale based on the function of wage as unit cost, and the worker's demand for wage as income and as a basis for citizenship. The problem is, as Drucker puts it, the "sacred cow" of the inflexible wage rate which industry cannot accept but which labor feels with emotion is the symbol of union strength and the test of union leadership. To admit that wages should go down or up is as difficult for both management and labor as it is for a nation to admit it has made a mistake in international affairs.

This tension intensifies conflict between the union and those in society who insist both on flexibility of wage costs and on priority of maximum employment over maximum wage rate. This conflict might be resolved through wage-fixing by government decree, but, ultimately, this runs the danger of converting the struggle from one between private parties into a struggle for control of government.

Drucker offers a direction to a solution of the problem that makes sense to this writer. It requires a distinction between the two different stages in the determination of wages: the bargaining over the wage burden, and the setting of concrete wage rates. It also requires a distinction between two different levels of wage determination: industry-wide and local. The first stage should aim at agreement on the wage burden. Negotiations would deal with the factors that are relevant to the determination of it:

The going wage...the standard of living considered normal by the society...changes in the cost of living which affect the purchasing power of the wage...the effect of certain wage policy on the national economy...the competitive situation of the industry and its economic outlook.<sup>28</sup>

Agreement on these fundamental issues would be separate from the battle over individual contracts. The basic factors would be discussed away from the pressures, the publicity and the emotional tensions of the bargaining table. It would force both sides to develop a long-range economic policy with respect to wages and offer the possibility of an eventual wage adjustment plan.

Collective bargaining will not become a statistical 'fact-finding' process but will remain what it should be: a live conflict between the parties representing different interests and aiming at different purposes. But if we could succeed in focusing collective bargaining on these basic and real issues, we would already have made the biggest step toward a rational wage policy that would balance the interests of the enterprise, the interests of the worker, the interests of the union and the interests of economy and society.<sup>29</sup>

#### B. Government and Economic Stabilization

Industry-wide union-management agreements help to stabilize the economy. Agreements as to wages remove this particular "worry" from industry as it tries to effect general conditions of fair competition. Agreements as to work conditions and prerequisites enlist the help of labor in preventing unscrupulous employers from competing unfairly. Agreements as to guaranteed employment save the public an enormous amount in government expenditure that would be needed in regulation, mediation and assistance.

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<sup>28</sup>Drucker, op. cit., p. 319.    <sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 324.

The refusal of labor and management to accept a rational wage policy will lead eventually to wage determination by the government, for both must be subordinate to the national welfare. What industrial society must have is a government strong enough to meet the problem of depression and unemployment, but sufficiently limited so as not to menace the freedom of the individual. Where employment and income predictability cannot be provided, the community must guarantee it as evidence of its solidarity and sense of justice. It is always preferable that these be put into effect by non-statutory agreement, under the pressure of public opinion.

Arising out of the voluntary surrender of power they escape the peril of hardening of the status quo which is implicit in detailed legal enactment. Here is the peril of institutionalizing a harmony of interests wherein unforeseeable shifts in real power can produce virtual enslavement of one or several of the parties to the overliberated power of another.<sup>30</sup>

Because of the potentially inflationary pressures of collective wage bargaining there is always the danger that labor and management will either consciously or unconsciously work against the general welfare. Industry-wide bargaining has brought industry-wide price increases that have had disproportionate effects on various sectors of the population. The state by its fiscal policies, its use of taxation and expenditures (for example, a decrease in expenditures during boom periods), and through public work projects and unemployment compensation during high unemployment periods can work toward economic stabilization. The key to the effectiveness of this government intervention lies in the

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<sup>30</sup>Morgan, op. cit., p. 134.

acceptance by management, labor and the public that this aid is not relief but part of the property accruing to the long-term services of labor. A public works program cannot be the basic feature of a depression policy, however, for the most important factor in a depression is not an economic but a psychological one.

Nor can it be an armaments program which is even more disastrous in the long run. Easily justified in the name of national security, war production offers a ready answer to a time of depression, but at the price of an armaments race that subordinates foreign policy to economic needs and threatens the very existence of the nation and world. Life and death, then, are the ultimate stakes in labor and management cooperation.

### C. Labor Management Cooperation

Mature and responsible people in both labor and management have long recognized that they are mutually dependent and responsible to the rest of society. They also know that what makes for efficiency and productivity of the human sources of production is not primarily skill or pay; it is rather an attitude, a way of looking at one's work as important to the whole. Again, Peter Drucker has said it most succinctly:

The demands of the enterprise are the plant community and the demands of society on individuals are in harmony. The enterprise must demand that the individual assume a 'managerial attitude' toward his job, his work, and his product, but that amounts to the same things as society's demand for the individual's responsible participation as a citizen. The enterprise must demand the fullest utilization of the abilities and ambitions of its employees. Its demand for people to fill supervisory and

executive positions is practically insatiable, which means that the enterprise's interest and the demand for equal opportunities run parallel.<sup>31</sup>

This attitude is more than awareness of one's function in the overall pattern of production; it is a willingness to assume responsibility for the whole. It is an attitude that can be facilitated by fitting the job to the man because his productive capacity does not lie in maximum efficiency for any one operation but in his ability to combine and integrate an almost infinite number of operations. Equally important is the concept of the work team. The Elton Mayo studies and General Motors Contest evaluations proved that social prestige and standing in the community of his fellows matters more to the worker than the economic reward for his work.

Basic to labor-management cooperation is the problem of "communications" - the ability of the various groups in the industrial enterprise to understand each other and to appreciate each other's function and concerns. Socially and politically, there are differences between management, supervisory personnel and labor that obstruct meaningful communications today. The difficulty lies not in the sphere of institutions or publications, however. What is lacking is the "attitude of the whole," the willingness to listen and to hear what the other group is saying.

This need for teamwork and the problem-solving approach would seem to call for decentralization and informalization of relationships between labor and management. More important, it calls for autonomy of

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<sup>31</sup>Drucker, op. cit., p. 134.

both groups at the local plant level. But, this localization of the bargaining process must always be balanced against the pressure of the larger, industry-wide authorities on either side. Karl Mannheim in his Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning concurs in this need for small-group experience, but feels that emphasizing the socially educative value of small units forces us into an unrealistic condemnation of large organizations, such as the army, factory or bureaucracy.

Those who neglect to explore the potentialities of these bodies renounce modern society altogether, as the really great social inventions of the future will probably be made in these fields. So far they have been explored largely from the point of view of efficiency in terms of greatest returns. But modern industrial psychology and sociology explore them in the light of social education and ask now to remedy the personal drawbacks of a highly regimented factory life...Large units can be broken down into smaller ones which may have the socializing effects of other small groups or even of primary ones.<sup>32</sup>

The "attitude of the whole" is also basic to the grievance procedure now employed in labor-management relations. Agreements provide machinery for the adjustment of grievances during the period of the contract. With or without an arbitrator, company and union representatives meet together and evidence is presented in orderly fashion by both sides and final disposition is made of the dispute. The first rule in a handbook of procedures published by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee says:

DO get both sides to every grievance. DON'T make a final decision or public declaration on a grievance until you know both sides of the grievance.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Karl Mannheim, Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 185-186.

<sup>33</sup>Myers, op. cit., p. 29.

This "attitude" is also basic to any consideration of profit sharing as an expression of labor-management cooperation. Labor's coolness to profit sharing is based on its fundamental rejection of profitability as the end of the industrial process. If labor is ever to accept the economic order of industrial society, profits must be shared by management in the spirit of a right rather than a gift. As Drucker puts it, it must establish a meaningful relationship between profit, the worker's job and the worker's needs. The major needs, he feels, can only be covered adequately in the mass, and he suggests a fund established by management out of profits, administered locally by workers with flexible use as an insurance against the risk of unemployment, sickness and old age.

A predictable income and employment guarantee would make it possible for the worker to plan for the future and for industry to rely on flexible labor costs. This is much more realistic than a "guaranteed annual wage" which is predicted on full employment and absolute security, both of which are impossible in the industrial society. It could be paid perhaps as an advance against future wages; it would need to be more reliable than favorable in its amount; but the important thing is that it would provide the worker with an incentive to build reserves in good times.

#### D. Resolution of Labor-Management Conflict in Hawaii

The growing acceptance of negotiation and arbitration makes likely continued peaceful labor-management relations in the Islands. Though strike deadlines have been threatened, agreements in the major

industries have resulted in an industrial peace for the past five years. Hawaii's last large-scale strike - its first major white-collar stoppage - shut down the state's two principal newspapers for six weeks early in 1963, but its resolution marked the first time in the nation that all the unions involved were willing to bargain together with management.

This cooperation has, according to non-partisan observers, borne political fruit in that the first Democratic administration elected in the state, with the support of labor, has: (1) barred the use of court injunctions to enforce no-strike clauses unless requested by the Hawaii Employment Relations Board, (2) extended the board's jurisdiction to companies with two workers from a former minimum of eight, (3) banned the importation of professional strikebreakers, (4) toughened enforcement of the overtime pay collection law, and (5) rejected an employer-backed program to overhaul the state's 25-year-old unemployment compensation law. However, employer groups have not raised the cry of labor domination because most of the administration's appointees have been moderates and acceptable to business, and there has been easement of the labor-backed 1961 state anti-trust law.

Citing the fact that in the Islands it has been possible for non-striking workers to freely cross picket lines without violence, the president of the Hawaii Employers Council said recently that he doubted that the Islands would ever again see another sugar or longshore strike. Industry has shown itself more willing to go along with labor in recent years. In 1959 it backed a law setting up the nation's first unemployment compensation program for agricultural workers. Part of the solution has been a continuing engagement of negotiation teams from labor

and management that have been able to assess issues apart from the pressures of contract deadlines. Commensurate with this move toward industrial peace has been a more mature attitude on the part of the Island public. Whether or not this will continue in the face of the tensions and the deprivations of another major strike is difficult to say. What is certain, is that the Island community would again look to its churches for leadership.

#### IV. THE CHURCH IN HAWAII AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE

##### A. The Church and Labor-Management Conflict

Every major denomination in the United States has declared its belief in the right of workers as well as employers to organize and to bargain collectively. The principle of democracy - the right of every person to help determine the conditions of his own life, liberty and happiness - is a central concern of Christian faith; a concern which it shares with other religions, that each personality has infinite worth as the creation of God. The church is neither pro-labor or pro-management. The church is pro-justice, believing that any form of autocracy, political or industrial, is destructive of human dignity and self-respect.

This is not the same as saying that the church as a fellowship of Christians never takes a stand upon issues involving labor or management. When Christians, individually and collectively as a fellowship, work to enhance the dignity of man or challenge a monopoly, they are not giving blanket endorsement to labor as such. They are working for what they believe to be God's will for His children. Similarly, when church people side with representatives

of management to break the strangle hold of monopoly or dishonest administration in a labor union, they are not by this act primarily endorsing management.<sup>34</sup>

However, Christian concern has expressed itself primarily in moralistic terms, broad generalizations regarding motives and objectives, and in pronouncements regarding principles and overall reforms. As Walter Muelder warns, the lack of knowledge concerning the real nature of industrial relations and the underlying needs of labor and management tend to drive moralism into extreme positions.

The moralistic approach has tended to encourage either an overly optimistic solution or a negative attitude to the problems, stressing the ineradicable sources of sin, the evil in human nature, the corrosive influence of the urban and industrial environment and the immorality and sinfulness inherent in all group life.<sup>35</sup>

This is partly an expression of its Protestant heritage.

#### B. Protestantism and the Labor Movement

Victor Obenhaus characterizes the traditional Protestant attitude toward the labor movement as one of fear and resentment. Based on the Calvinist idea that the individual, weak and sinful though he is, must exert himself to his utmost to fulfill his role in society, and steeped in the "neo-Adam Smithism" that the self-interest of the businessman is the prime mover of the greatest good in the best possible of worlds, the agrarian influenced middle-class membership of Protestant churches has been threatened by growing industrialization. Assuming that righteous men make only good decisions, mid-nineteenth century Protestantism could

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<sup>34</sup>Victor Obenhaus, "The Church and the Labor Movement," Social Action XXIV:5 (January, 1958), 5-6.

<sup>35</sup>Muelder, Religion and Economic Responsibility, p. 416.

neither understand nor accept the claim of labor that these decisions were unjust. Labor refused to accept wage rates and working conditions, and even more heretical, questioned the economic principles by which management dictated the terms of employment. Coupled with the fact that many labor leaders had foreign origins and did not attend English-speaking churches, one can understand why in the 1870's it would be said of Protestantism that it presented "a massive, almost unbroken front in the defense of the status quo." Henry Ward Beecher was denouncing railroad strikers for not being willing to bear their poverty more nobly. Russell Conwell preaching his famous "Acres of Diamonds" was expounding his gospel that self-help was sufficient solution to all social problems. However, before the turn of the century, the nation was to know the violence and the bitterness of the Chicago Haymarket and the Carnegie Corporation strikes.

Shocked out of their complacency, the Christian ministers in the aftermath of the great strike waves commenced a search for solutions to the new problems. More and more came to realize that the all-sufficient optimistic formulas expounded by men like Henry Ward Beecher had been shattered by unanswerable events. More and more Protestant leaders began to voice the kind of criticism of the existing order which has been broadly characterized as the Social Gospel.<sup>36</sup>

This was, perhaps, Protestantism's most unique and effective contribution to American religious thought. Leaders of the movement realized that the church had to come to grips with the evils in power concentration and offer the guidance of Christian standards. Personal gain must somehow be led captive to public good. It meant a concern for working people and support of the union effort.

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36 ibid., p. 140.

Though the Social Gospel reflected a much-needed emphasis in Christian thinking, we now, from a somewhat more ample perspective, can recognize that it was possibly using inadequate weapons and a faith of insufficient depth.<sup>37</sup>

Preserving much that was vital in the Social Gospel, the main thrust of today's Protestant ethic is the "Christian Realism" of Niebuhr and Bennett - that, though God's kingdom transcends every social achievement, we serve God in each endeavor to raise the level of human life, in every new embodiment of justice and mercy and fellowship in the community. One "cutting edge" of that service continues to be the Church's relationship to labor and management.

### C. The Church and Management

The long-standing equation of Protestant churches with business, professional and "white collar" congregations is changing in our time. In a study of the religious affiliations of management and labor leaders, Kenneth Watson found that even though 82% of those in business were affiliated with Protestant churches, 64% of labor leaders claimed Protestant affiliation and showed a far better church attendance record. However, the same survey indicated that Protestant churches continue to be management oriented in that business leaders take the greater responsibility for church leadership. Watson drew this conclusion:

There is some justification in appealing for the services of the business leader. His training and skill as a manager should work toward making him a top steward in the affairs of the church. Since the affairs of the church are patterned largely after the profile of America's business society, it is better to have

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<sup>37</sup>Obenhaus, op. cit., p. 5.

officers who understand the functioning of such a society. The church, too, must maintain its function as an efficient organization.<sup>38</sup>

Without denying the spiritual motivation of many businessmen, it can be said that most feel that community participation including church affiliation is desirable both from an ethical and from a business point of view. They feel not only that they can protect and advance general social economic goals by participation in community organizations but that they have an obligation to give time and money as partial repayment for their dependence on the community for livelihood. Most businessmen feel that the kind of leadership they give is necessary to the health of the community and the nation. But low taxes, a favorable business climate, moderate funds for government aid and educational activities, may mean less than adequate services to the poorer parts of the community, objection to public housing construction and inadequate welfare budgets.

This tension is productive of conflict, and this is the point at which the church and management are often at odds. This too was borne out in Watson's study in that the great majority of business leaders that he surveyed were most conservative in their opinion concerning the prophetic role of the religious institution. When churches state political preference, use the pulpit to analyze current social issues, initiate discussion of economic concerns, many businessmen feel that the church places them in a defensive posture. They feel that the church should provide them, not with platitudinous generalities but with a

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<sup>38</sup>Kenneth Watson, "The Religious Affiliation, Motivation and Opinions of Business and Labor Leaders in the United States." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Southern California School of Theology, 1960.

practical ethic by which they can survive economically and still meet their justified responsibilities. They feel that the church should be solidly behind the system of private enterprise.

Churches generally reflect the dominant views of the dominant groups within the congregation; therefore they are oriented toward slight changes in the status quo rather than fundamental moves in community power relations such as labor-management problems. Since churches are dependent to a large extent on local financial contributions, they do not openly oppose the ideologies of their lay leadership, which, particularly in the major Protestant groups, continues to be management centered. With this limitation, churches tend to emphasize the broader dimensions of the moral and ethical problems that face the community with the hope that the individual member will transform these into specific acts of moral and ethical living. It appears, therefore, that when the church takes seriously its mission of creating a more responsible society that it finds a stronger ally in the labor leader.

#### D. The Church and Labor

Though the Watson survey showed an unexpected high participation of labor leaders in Protestant churches, urban manual workers generally do not constitute a vigorous and powerful segment of Protestant church population. To a great extent, the worker sees the church as on the other side of the fence from where he stands. He identifies it with a different way of life, and its leadership as one drawn from management and professional groups.

George Roberts, Los Angeles County Federation of Labor president

in 1962, compiled from meetings of the Los Angeles Religion and Labor Council the general concern of labor as it looked at churches. (1) That labor asks a greater interest on the part of churches in the labor movement. The problem, labor feels, is not so much the lack of union people in our churches, but that Protestant church membership is but slightly informed as to the purposes of labor. Most churches refuse any involvement in the problems of industrial relations. While the church should judge all groups in the light of a more perfect ideal, it should also recognize that many of labor's aims are parallel with its own.

(2) Churchmen and the public must have a more accurate understanding of labor and its practices. Stereotypes of labor as a monolithic power threat, riddled with corruption, dedicated to violence, concerned only with wage increase at the expense of the economy, must be overcome. Churches must realize that the labor movement shares their moral and spiritual commitment to justice and freedom. (3) Labor feels that churches ought to emphasize the rights of labor, instead of thinking in terms of charity. There is still an emphasis in the social program of too many churches that help to the needy is one of benevolence rather than one of economic or social justice. Labor wants more support of community welfare systems, not as a dole to the unfortunate, but as a move toward economic security for all. (4) In tension and crisis situations, labor feels that churches should play a more active role in conflict resolution. Labor feels that it is not enough to preach a sermon in favor of fair employment legislation. Churchmen should work on committees, influence politicians and talk to voters.

Religious groups in the community have certain concerns about

labor. (1) That labor is not aware of the advances that churches have made in support of social programs, nor of theological trends, such as the ecumenical movement. Labor operates with a stereotype of the church which keeps workers from taking a more active part. (2) Labor needs a greater understanding of the spiritual meaning of work and should be more open to the moral insights of the church. (3) Labor should give more support to prophetic ministers and not assume that churches are anti-union because they do not support labor in all of its demands. Labor should not think of the church as an instrument with which to achieve its ends, but as a source of spiritual strength and judgment with which to evaluate those ends.

Such considerations as these lead us all to self examination. Shortcomings in the labor movement are due both to its members and to churchmen who have remained inactive. Faults of religious groups are due both to their leaders and to labor, since it is or ought to be in the active membership of those religious groups.<sup>39</sup>

#### E. The Minister and Labor-Management Conflict

William Form, of the School of Labor and Industrial Relations at Michigan State University, found in his study of labor, industry and religion in community power structure that whereas clergymen are usually nominated as top influentials by panels of knowledgeable both from the side of business and of labor, they are not considered key influentials. Their nomination to community boards is more of a symbol rather than a recognition of actual influence, as if voting against them would be tantamount to saying that God has no place in community decision making.

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<sup>39</sup>George Roberts, Bulletin of the Religion and Labor Council of America V:5 (June-July, 1962), 14-15.

The interesting fact in Form's survey was that often the individual minister was given more prestige by the community than by his own parishioners. This was especially true of the ethnic and racial religious leaders named as community influentials. This bears out the conclusion to which Watson came in his more recent study that the general feeling still prevails in labor, management and the public that the church should confine itself to an area with which is more familiar, namely, "spiritual matters."

Ministers, for the most part, share the general pre-supposition that management represents the ethical standard of community life, admittedly relative, and that labor's demands should be tolerated rather than understood. The dominant portrayal of a group, or its stereotype, usually affects the judgement of the minister just as it does anyone else. Methodist pastor Edward Carothers is realistic in this:

Most ministers would deny this but I still think it is true because, no matter who we are, we have had labor represented to us in terms of violence, strikes, picket lines, and internal corruption. Ministers are against these things even if they were born and reared in homes where both parents were actively involved in labor organizations.<sup>40</sup>

The union headquarters is on a less familiar street than the businesses of most of a Protestant minister's parishioners. He knows that his people share this unfamiliarity and, though it is no longer a fear of labor, the separation generates sufficient timidity to, as Carothers so well puts it, "activate the rationalizations he needs to go about his business without becoming involved with organized labor."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>J. Edward Carothers, "The Minister and Organized Labor," *Social Action* XXIV:5 (January, 1958), 14-15.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

Liston Pope in his classic study of industrial relations in Bastonia, North Carolina, found part of the problem in the fact that, despite years spent in professional preparation, few of the pastors in the strike situation he was observing had had any special training for work in an industrial parish.

Lacking economic and sociological perspectives wider than those of their own communities, ministers of all types of churches fail to appraise the opinions of community leaders as being in themselves highly relative; instead, they incline to accept them at face value or to modify them in minor details only. Though they are acknowledged experts in the field of religion and continually profess to be troubled by the gap between ethical ideals and social practice, they do not possess criteria for judging social possibilities, and thus in effect become instruments of social inertia.<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps it is the kind of education rather than the education itself, he concludes.

If theological training invariably produces upper-class tastes and dispositions, it renders its subjects less flexible socially while assuming that it makes them more competent religiously.<sup>43</sup>

He found also that ministers of the sect churches, who, because of membership, were supposedly closer to labor and in a better position to see the need for social and economic change, were even less interested in industrial problems than the ministers of the "middle-class churches." The reason he found in the other worldly emphasis of sectarian groups and their acquiescence in the economic status quo while seeking at the same time to regulate individual conduct. Roman Catholics have set up their own labor unions, alliances, conferences and seminars.

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<sup>42</sup>Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), p. 115.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

F. Church Leadership and Strategy in the Resolution of Labor-Management Conflict

The influence of the church is basically dependent upon the efficacy of its appeal that there should be consistency between religious ideals and secular behavior. Creative leadership demands knowledge of both the ideals and the behavior. The church must become aware of the conditions of industrial unrest. It must acquaint itself with the facts of management's basic need of profitability and labor's basic need of security. It is not enough to know the hourly wage that a worker receives. The question is, how much work does he get for the year? It is not enough to decry the danger of massive, wealthy union power without realizing that the billion and a half dollars which are the joint assets of 44,530 separate unions is less than the amount spent by the steel industry for replacement, modernization and expansion in one year's time. It is not enough to condemn the racial discrimination practiced in a few unions without admitting that it reflects in varying degree the social attitudes and prejudices unfortunately common to American life. Knowledge of the ideal and of the practice means an awareness that until economic causes of unemployment which create pressures toward lower wages and competition for jobs are removed, discrimination will continue both in the labor movement and everywhere. Nor is it just enough to call for the facts in an industrial dispute. The desire of a favorable public image may force disputing parties into untenable positions from which they cannot retreat without a loss of self-respect. Creative leadership in industrial relations means a sympathetic handling of facts. As Walter Mueler puts it, it is a positive approach especially

suites to the church because it goes beyond moralism into redemption.

Church and secular leaders can unite on the need for a constructive and comprehensive political science of labor-management relations which is really the social engineering approach. This combines a realistic facing of all the complex forces at work with faith in the possibilities both of individuals and of group relations.<sup>44</sup>

#### G. In the Local Church

A wide range of customary religious activities is sponsored by the church for business and labor as a part of the Christian community. Men worshipping together, praying together, are men who will seek ways of working together more amicably. Each group is reminded what the position of the church is on certain issues, helping them to be aware of their responsibilities. Direct social action is mostly in the area of social welfare. Unions and businesses are urged to cooperate in assisting the less fortunate. Churchmen bring a Christian influence into social agencies and community associations lifting up moral norms concerning personal responsibilities to the wider community by their actions as well as words.

Carothers is concerned that churches should stop thinking of people in labor groups as being a particular kind of people. They must be dealt with as persons, just as much in need of God's grace as management or anyone else. There is truth here, but it must be held in tension with the fact that ours is an industrial culture and we must see men and women working in it not just as individuals to be brought to Christian faith, but as members of an essential element in society which

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<sup>44</sup>Muelter, Religion and Economic Responsibility, p. 117.

must be brought as a whole to the service of God.

Christian strategy ought to recognize this problem. It is impossible that there will be any significant evangelism unless we not only think of industrial man as an individual but also as a member of a group, and a very important one with which the Church must establish significant contact.<sup>45</sup>

Church members should seek out the friendship of laboring families in the community and make a concerted effort to bring them into touch with the Gospel and into membership in the church.

Issues that concern labor and management conflict should be raised in the mind of the church and given moral and spiritual evaluation. Labor speakers, as well as management, should be invited to address local congregations on social and economic issues. Church people should visit union headquarters, see the working of labor-management cooperation in local factories, attend public hearings of arbitration meetings, investigate the facts of strike situations, concern churches with striker family relief, get all the facts concerning pending social legislation, and make the "Labor Sunday" message the center of a study unit on the church and labor-management conflict resolution.

#### H. By the Minister

The minister should acquire labor contacts and by personal acquaintance and friendship bridge the gap that exists between labor and the church. Minister specialists are needed for "inter-city" churches that include the greatest number of laborers and their families. Pope found in Gastonia that with the professional training that most

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<sup>45</sup>Rev. L. G. Tyler, "The Church and Industry," Modern Churchman (September, 1954), 193.

ministers received they could no longer sense or represent the peculiar needs of their parishioners. Denominations should supplement the salaries paid to men who are specially trained and dedicated to the work of the "inner-city" church. Carothers cautions that the minister can feel in touch with organized labor only if he is in touch with the whole community. He cannot maintain proper relationships if he becomes identified with any one group. In the minds of labor he is a minister, not a laborer.

But they fear he will not be a minister to them. He so often comes to them only with talk about unions, working conditions and the like. They would also like to know if the minister cares about their religious condition. They think of him as a minister of religion. If he fails to think of himself in that same way, he cannot be in touch with those who are in organized labor.<sup>46</sup>

#### 1. In the Denomination

Just as business and labor has found it necessary to create full-time specialists in community relations, such a role is called for in the church under denominational or interdenominational sponsorship. Specially trained administrators are needed to work at social problems as they relate to the life and the faith of the church, and to map out strategy for effective church action. The position of Minister of Social Action and Inner City Work has already been created by some denominations in large population centers.

Most all denominations issue pronouncements that set forth the official stand of church boards and conferences. Though they do not elicit great response or immediate action, there is value in the

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<sup>46</sup>Carothers, op. cit., p. 18.

procedure. Milton Yinger's observation is important at this point:

Pronouncements do not upset the balance of power or the basic nature of the economy, but they do prepare public opinion for a better day, providing ethical justification for constructive social change, and they do keep churches in a position where they can reduce the harshness of a given society even when they do not affect it immediately in a dominant way.<sup>47</sup>

It may be that a new strategy is evolving with national assemblies and commissions enunciating church policy, while local churches support it as best as the immediate conditions allow. The national positions tend to be more liberal than the local ones, but they have the weight of the national body. Above all, denominational support of a prophetic ministry is essential to the security of both ministers and congregations. Local churches and pastors should know that they have denominational backing if they are expected to oppose abuses in industrial relations.

#### J. In Inter-Church Cooperation

A great deal of security comes from an inter-denominational witness to ethical standards. Church councils are more and more playing a mediating role by appealing to the broader community concerns of conflict participants, and by interpreting the issues in the light of religious values. Some ministers and churchmen should qualify themselves as arbitrators through special training, and more churches should provide informal arbitration-mediation facilities. Rather than wait for conflict to arise, ethical consultation should be a part of continuing labor-management cooperation. The American Motors Corporation enlists the help of ten clergymen to advise company negotiators

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<sup>47</sup>Muelder, Religion and Economic Responsibility, pp. 104-105.

on the ethical aspects of collective bargaining.

More and more ministers with special training have become chaplains to individual industries or chaplains employed by councils of churches for industrial areas. The Detroit Industrial Mission, and its several counterparts in other cities, provides a joint approach by a number of denominations to labor and management groups. Industrial chaplaincy internships have been established by seminaries, and industrial seminars for local pastors have been held in the larger urban areas. A chaplain's duties include the conduct of plant-wide devotional services and the counseling of workers in personnel and personal problems. There is an obvious danger that a man paid by the company could be used as a "paternalistic pacifier" to eliminate conflict. This has not been borne out in fact. Even the possibility might be eliminated if an industrial chaplaincy could be jointly sponsored by labor and management, or both accept a man provided by a church council. This is an area of industrial relations as yet unexplored by churches in Hawaii.

Churchmen have been involved in all of the major strikes in the Islands in that the entire population has been affected. In some instances, however, individual ministers have been active in arbitration. One of the most devastating of Hawaii's industrial conflicts was that which began in the Fall of 1919 as Japanese and Filipino laborers attempted to form unions on the plantations. A Filipino Protestant pastor (still active, and a respondent to the questionnaire) was a spokesman for his people in their demand for recognition by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. The strike continued into the spring of 1920 at which time the pastor of Honolulu's "Haole-elite" Central Union Church

in a Sunday sermon contradicted the planters' assertion that the Oriental was inherently un-American. He urged the strikers to go back to work and the Association to recognize the right of Oriental laborers to bargain collectively through a union. The plan, which immediately was titled after the name of the minister by the two Island newspapers, received serious consideration and was accepted by the laboring groups. Management, sensing weakness in the workers' position, rejected the plan and, after 165 days, broke the strike. But plantation life was never to be the same again. Most of the demands of the laborers were met in an attempt to forestall collective bargaining by increased wages and improved housing.

The passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935 saw a new era begin in the lives of Hawaii's workers. It was to be an era of continued conflict in which Hawaii's churchmen could not help but be involved.

In 1946, the Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral was a member of a mediation committee accepted by both labor and management that helped to resolve a long and bitter struggle. Appeals from the Ministerial Association and the Honolulu Council of Churches for continued bargaining, conciliation, concern for public welfare and quick resolution have been made in each conflict since that time. In the major strike of 1957 the Council succeeded in bringing churchmen, management and labor negotiators together in fact-finding sessions. Management felt that there was little to be gained from a public debate of the issues. Labor favored a confrontation. Separate presentations were made and a Council committee evaluated the positions and called upon both groups

to return to the bargaining table with greater commitment to the public good. This author learned at first hand the danger in the rigidity-producing factor of a public stance. As Director of the Honolulu Council, I released the statement of concern to the newspapers who, apparently in need of a little "early edition excitement," reported it as a softening of management's stand in the dispute. No explanation could convince the members of the management negotiating team who descended on the Council office that they had not been betrayed by the churches.

Because of the heavy representation of the business and professional community in the larger Protestant churches of Honolulu, council action in social concerns requires the support of particular pastors and of denominational executives in order to be effective. Plans have been made, but no effort yet attempted, to bring churchmen, labor and management together in seminars concerned with the contemporary expression of Christian faith. As in most social action it apparently needs the stimulus of crisis, by which time it is usually too late to ward off the conflict.

#### V. OPINIONS OF HONOLULU CHURCHMEN AS TO EFFECTIVE STRATEGY IN MEETING STRIKE SITUATIONS

One question of the survey asked: What strategy do you think is most effective for church, denomination and council in meeting a strike situation such as the one that prevailed in 1957? Believing that it would sharpen the problem, the author made reference to a specific conflict. He did not foresee that some of the respondents would feel unqualified to answer the question because they had not lived in the

Islands in 1957. Fortunately, there were only a few that did not offer some opinion as to the strategy for the church in any strike situation.

It will be remembered that in the questions dealing with leadership responsibility the ministers feel that concerned individuals will make the most effective public witness in a strike period. Answers to the opinion question reflect the same position. However, a great number also feel that churches, denominations and councils should also involve themselves. All but a few speak of the need for a labor-management dialogue which churches acting together can help to create. A majority also feel that an open discussion of the issues is part of an effective strategy. Many mention the previous attempts of the Council of Churches to bring labor and management negotiating teams before combined minister and layman groups to explain their positions. At least a third of the minister respondents call for inter-denominational and inter-faith studies of labor-management conflict before strike situations occur. Two mention the need of establishing a Religion and Labor Council.

Many pastors call for direct involvement of the church in labor-management struggles. The Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral advises that "ministers must preach on the issues if the facts are available. They must not dodge the situation." He feels that determined attempts must be made to place leading churchmen on the mediation teams. There is also a consensus that an open discussion of issues should take place in the churches. A surprising number of ministers, most of whom are long-time residents of Hawaii, believe that the church should attempt to determine a right and a wrong in the conflict, and then to make public the responsible action that it feels both labor and management should

take. Two respondents feel that such a determination would be neither possible or useful because Protestant churches are so closely identified with management families. A Presbyterian pastor suggests that denominations try to enlist the churchmen from among the forces of labor and management involved in the dispute and to bring them together in a search for a Christian approach to the conflict. Some have experienced so much bitterness in strike periods that they feel like the one Lutheran pastor who writes: "We must work now for legislation to prevent extensive strikes. Our young nation is still fooling around with strikes as a method of bargaining, but 'children need rules for their own protection.'"

This attitude, however, betrays a sentiment that appears in only a few of the replies. There are others just as firmly convinced that the church must be completely unbiased and that its mediating function is primarily one of information and communication. An Episcopal minister advises: "The church's task is to keep the community cool so that the participants may work on the real issues. It must refuse to take sides unless there is clear evidence of irresponsibility." Most feel that the mistake of the past has been an ignorance of the conflict upon which the church has tried to base its opinions. "Strikes are so involved and the issues so technical," says a Congregational pastor, "that the church should enter the conflict only with a great deal of information and materials." Some go so far as to point out that public statements by the church in strike situations are harmful, in that they tend to force participants into rigid positions. Most of the ministers, in some way or other, set the primary concern of the church as that of

public welfare. "The church must act as a mediating force to assist both sides, while at the same time 'stinging the conscience' of both sides when injustice is perpetrated on the public," writes the Episcopal minister who has been social action chairman both for his denomination and for the church council.

Pastors of sect and independent groups are unanimous in their feeling that the church should not involve itself in strike conflict. As a minister of the Seventh Day Adventist Church puts it, "This is not an area for church intervention. It is an individual concern."

Response from lay leaders is equally divided as to church participation in labor-management conflict, but the differences are more sharply drawn. Those that oppose intervention are strong in their resistance. One says, "I do not think this is a sphere that should interest the church." Another strongly opposes the church's "meddling" in any strike situation. Others express the feeling that the clergy are partisan to the side of labor. "I do not believe the church, denomination or council should enter the controversy in a strike situation except to educate their members of the facts of the case. Even then the leaders will tend to be biased." Yet a bias is much more evident in the following answer of an Episcopal layman: "Keep out of the situation, as nothing is ever gained. There is no way to bring together on a continuing basis a group of people who are a part of the free enterprise system and depend on teamwork and cooperation, and a second group whose leadership maintains office through conflict and keeping people off balance." A Jewish layman says that, "this is a sphere that should not interest either church or synagogue." A Buddhist layman expresses

resignation: "There is nothing that can be done in the face of strong unions."

In contrast, however, are the replies from lay leaders who call for a strong stand from church and council in demanding from both labor and management a reasonableness that shows concern for the community. A drastic, but perhaps effective, action is proposed by a leading Disciples of Christ layman who is a past president of the Council of Churches and a management representative of a dock handling firm that deals directly with the longshoremen's union. "Churches should picket both industry and labor union headquarters demanding continued collective bargaining in the public interest."

Concise, but constructive, are the replies of the two Quaker respondents: "Be available for mediation. Keep class hatreds out of the disputes. Minimize the violence and the threat of violence." A Presbyterian layman brings a spiritual dimension to the question. "Christians should be willing to enter in to help negotiate by being willing to absorb the hate and the enmity of both parties, giving love in return." The Episcopal Dean brings a practical dimension in his suggestion that whatever the churches are doing with labor and management they must also be concerned with the needs of workers' families. The assumption that the privation and discomfort of the striking laborer's family is part of the risk that he must take in a conflict situation is something less than a Christian concern for all people.

Liston Pope drew the conclusion, after his comprehensive study of a particular strike situation, that religious institutions can be a source of culture transformation only as they transcend the immediate

culture in which they function.

Unless they find economic standards, as such, other than those of the economic culture from which they draw immediate substance, they will not be able to stand in effective judgement or criticism. If they find such standards, the danger will be that of irrelevance to the immediate situation - a hazard escapable only by intimate knowledge of economic relativities, issuing in skill in social engineering.<sup>48</sup>

This continues to be the basic requirement for effective leadership and strategy in the church's relation to industrial conflict. It is especially true in Hawaii where the church has been so long identified with the leadership of the business community. Transcendence of the immediate culture lies in the direction of concerted efforts to bring laborers, their families and their union leaders into the Christian fellowship. It means stepping across the traditional social boundaries between management and labor groups.

Kenneth Watson, in his study, concluded that the church must learn that the differences between the two groups will never be resolved simply because the religious institution manages to get them to sit down together.

Such a naive attitude overlooks the complex and deep-rooted nature of the conflicts of interest, selfishness, profit motivation, power struggle competition, and dominance of a philosophy of materialism.<sup>49</sup>

The response of laymen to the survey is evidence of the fact that what is needed in Hawaii as in churches everywhere is a continual and strong emphasis on the secular relevance of the Gospel to counter prevalent "religious-ghettoization" of the church. In labor-management conflict

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48Pope, op. cit., p. 334.

49Watson, op. cit., pp. 289-290.

as in every challenge to social action, the impact will be measured by the vitality of the life of the Body of Christ. It is in the local church that the most effective prophets of social justice are trained.

Any religious organization which does not motivate its adherents to improve their own homes, communities, and world-wide relationships is dying. In too many communities the church stands apart, sheltered by wide landscaped lawns and Gothic walls of stone, and even worse, by isolationist theologies or apathetic personalities.<sup>50</sup>

This cannot be said of the church in Hawaii when faced with labor-management conflict.

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<sup>50</sup>Harvey Seifert, The Church in Community Action (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952), p. 222.

## CHAPTER VI

### LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION IN DEALING WITH EXTREMIST GROUPS

#### I. THE NATURE OF EXTREMISM

##### A. Characteristics of Extremist Groups

Whether considered in their present political context or as general categories of an ideological spectrum, the socio-political allegiances of men are vital concerns of the church. Eric Hoffer distinguishes them by orientation to present, future and past. The conservative doubts that the present can be bettered and so he tries to shape the future in the image of the present, and he goes to the past for reassurance. The liberal sees the present as the legitimate offspring of the past and as constantly moving toward an improved future. Both in their own way cherish the present. The radical and the reactionary loathe the present and are ready to sacrifice in order to change it. They differ, however, in their concept of man's changeability. The radical places his faith in the infinite perfectibility of man's nature. The reactionary does not believe in this potential for good in human nature and holds that society must be patterned after the past. The line between the two is slim.

The reactionary manifests radicalism when he comes to recreate his ideal past. His image of the past is based less on what it actually was than on what he wants the future to be.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Eric Hoffer, The True Believer (New York: New American Library, 1951), p. 71.

In the case of the radical, since he has rejected the present, when he sets forth his new world he is forced to link the future to the past as a guideline.

If he has to employ violence in shaping the new, his view of man's nature darkens and approaches closer to that of the reactionary.<sup>2</sup>

It is the radical and reactionary groups that are referred to in this chapter as extremist and as a challenge to the church, though the tendency of both liberalism and conservatism to move to these extremes is also recognized.

Extremists of both right and left are characterized by certain attitudes and practices. George C. Hill, writing for the Christian Advocate, identifies four general postures. First, there is a distrust of the ways of democracy and due process of law, and a preference for strong-arm, authoritarian solutions. On the international scene the far left, Communism, regardless of its protestations that these are but interim measures, has developed only authoritarian solutions to the problems of the rule by the proletariat. In this country, being a small minority even at the time of their greatest strength, they have made full use of democratic liberties, but with the purpose of ultimately "Sovietizing" the laws under which they have sought protection. They have also been admonished not to reject any illegal method. J. Edgar Hoover quotes Lenin as having said that the Communists could never reject terror on principle because it is a form of military operation that can be usefully applied.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

The far right evinces this same distrust of democratic procedures, though only its irresponsible fringe has advocated strong-arm methods. However, though few would concur in the "hanging of the Chief Justice" or the "immediate, surprise mopping up of Russia by atomic attack," most of the extremists of the right believe that a Congressional committee is justified in investigating an individual against whom there is not sufficient evidence for conviction in a court of law.

Second, there is common to both forms of extremism a distortion of the meaning of words. "Socialism," "democracy," "freedom," mean to the extremist what he chooses in support of his position. Hoover points out that,

'Restoring the Bill of Rights,' in communist language means eliminating all legal opposition to communism. 'Peace' to them means the curtailment of our national defense effort. 'Restoring academic freedom' means a permitting of the official teaching of communist doctrine in our schools.<sup>3</sup>

This neglect of precise referents also characterizes the anti-communist groups. For example, in a unit of teaching materials produced by the ultra-conservative Harding College in Arkansas and available to high schools is an address by the vice president of the college informing students that "many thousands of Communists" are in high places in the United States and are influencing the actions of "patriotic Americans."

Third, there is in extremism an obsession with the "single cause" of unwelcome happenings on the domestic and world scene. In Marxist theory it is the class struggle of the proletariat against the

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<sup>3</sup>J. Edgar Hoover, Masters of Deceit (New York: Henry Holt, 1958), p. 187.

oppression of the bourgeoisie that will spell the doom of capitalism and bring the eventual victory of the communist state. The practice of the left is a continual agitation to exploit the grievances, hopes, aspirations, prejudices, fears and ideals of Western people with the conviction that given enough upheaval the forces of economic determinism will eventuate in revolution. With the right wing extremists the single cause of Communist conspiracy has become a label with which to condemn any individual or groups who are not ultra-conservative in religion or politics. Those that hold the King James Version of the Bible to be an inspired translation have attacked the Revised Standard Version by claiming that a number of its translators have been involved in Communist fronts. Those opposed to the United Nations, foreign aid, the income tax, veterans' hospitals, fluoridation of water, inter-church co-operation and mental health have labelled all supporters as pro-Communists or as doing the work of Communists.

Lastly, extremism is characterized by a perversion of the concept of the Chosen People. It is the seeing of one's group as inherently superior to others and deserving of more privilege. Because of this, the Marxist may say the ends justify the means. The militant leftist can claim immunity under the very protection he would destroy because of his feeling of a manifest destiny. By the same perversion certain of the rightists can hold that Negroes may not determine for themselves where they shall live, eat or be educated. With the same reasoning the rightist can contend that any mention of a thaw in the Cold War or hope of co-existence can only be part of a Communist plot.

### B. Causes of Extremism

Though they seem at opposite poles, fanatics of all kinds are actually crowded at one end. It is the fanatic and the moderate who are poles apart and never meet...It is easier for a fanatic Communist to be converted to fascism, chauvinism or Catholicism than to become a sober liberal.<sup>4</sup>

The "either-or" solution that characterizes the extremists of both left and right is a formula for frustration, pitting what is unattainable against what is intolerable and precluding all middle courses. Unhappy, the contemporary world is in many respects a frustrating one.

The cold war frustrations of the American people and the recurrent international crises and confrontations with the Communists in Korea, Berlin, Laos, Vietnam and Cuba together with the lack of a clear-cut 'victory' in a number of the crises has been a new kind of experience for Americans, accustomed to climactic triumphs on the battlefield and unprepared for a 'long twilight struggle' lasting years.<sup>5</sup>

In domestic affairs, the nation is undergoing a tremendous transformation in urbanization, automation, in its race relations patterns, its treatment of the indigent and the aged. In its foreign affairs, the cold war keeps either side from working its will without limit, but, at least, affords a tenuous but continuing peace. New economic and political alliances are being formed among the nations. The traditional enforcement of national interest has been rendered obsolete by the existence of atomic weaponry. These frustrations are experienced in a continuing atmosphere of tension and fear and, all in all, it is a time of imagined perils that is hardly conducive to the rule of reason. Small wonder that both the radical and the reactionary want to change

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<sup>4</sup>Hoffer, op. cit., p. 81.

<sup>5</sup>Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, Danger on the Right (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 6.

the clock and either turn it back to a moment when men could move more readily and directly to achieve what they wanted, or to turn it forward by the fiat of "divine" economic determinism.

There being so few Communists in America, it is difficult to determine the sociological factors that lead people into left wing extremism today. Of clergymen over the past 40 years, according to Ralph Lord Roy, only a handful of from 50 to 200 have ever been members of the Communist Party, and of these only a very few remain. Frustration for these people was the depression of the thirties with fascism on the march in Europe and in Asia. Many, under the inspiration of the social gospel, rebelled against what they thought was a too middle class, too respectable church. They became enamored of what seemed to be the social progress and vitality of Russia, and they belittled what they considered to be the "stale capitalist status quo" of the United States.

There is the small group of persistent fellow travelers among the clergy who have worked with the Communists over the years and have willingly been used by the Communists as camouflage. Their professional lives have suffered considerably because they have stood by their political convictions...At times some have exploited the friendship and humanitarianism of fellow clergymen and lured them into groups and activities secretly organized by Communists and geared to Communist objectives. These sympathizers have seriously injured the cause of social action in the churches.<sup>6</sup>

This same frustration has produced the phenomenon of the fanatical right. Inez Robb, veteran syndicated newspaper woman, was told to leave her motel room in Phoenix four years ago because she criticized the far right as fascist. Her remarks were prompted by finding anti-

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<sup>6</sup>Ralph Lord Roy, Communism and the Churches (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1960), p. 425.

Communist literature in her room instead of the Bible. On May 7, she wrote:

It is nonsense that the Birchers are interested in fighting Communism, that is only a front. What they are hot to destroy is the income tax, labor unions, social security and any other aspect of the 20th Century they dislike, such as fluoridation and mental health.<sup>7</sup>

She urged that it ought to be exposed just as much as we should expose Communism. Conservatives and liberals have the same stake in protecting freedom, but they have the same responsibility to do so legitimately, rather than as a front for some ulterior purpose such as getting rid of taxes or medicare. In August, 1963, the noted sociologist, M. L. Cohnstaedt, of the University of Wisconsin, in an address to the American Sociological Association, likened the extremists of the right to those groups that had their origin in the confusion and emotionalism that led to the rise of Hitlerism in Germany. Characteristic of this fanaticism, he said, is the irrational fear of the changes that wiser people realize are inevitable.

They have no ability to understand the nature of change, and want to go back to some former time when, they imagine, things were simpler and less worrisome.<sup>8</sup>

Besides the frustration of living in an atmosphere of helplessness and fear in an age of world revolution and potential destruction, a second social source of the radical right is the search for self-identity that characterizes segments of the population which are either rising or declining in status. Sarah Harris and Ralph Ellsworth, in

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<sup>7</sup>Quoted by Wesley McCane, National Community Relations Advisory Council Plenary Session, (Cincinnati, Ohio, June 23, 1962)

<sup>8</sup>An article by George Getze, Los Angeles Times (August 28, 1963).

their Report to the Fund for the Republic, point out the curious anomaly that the United States, which is planted from one end to the other with foreigners, should from the very beginning of its history have harbored such a primitive distrust of them.

Perhaps it is for this reason - that each generation has had to adjust to a new wave of immigration, that hostility has never had the chance to ripen into either indifference or acceptance. So, the Puerto Rican today has acquired the animosity formerly directed toward the Germans, Irish, Swedes, Italians and the Jews.<sup>9</sup>

These are the "ascending," those who overconform to an assumed tradition of Americanism in an effort to prove their acceptability and to show their unquestionable loyalty. The "descending" are those who are swept along in social changes that threaten the system of privilege they have traditionally enjoyed. For this reason, the white supremacist finds security in the extremism of the right. Right-wing anti-communism is also a cloak for ultra-conservative economic policies, and much of the financial support for the extremists of the Right comes from this group.

A third, and perhaps most important reason for the extremism of both right and left is, as Robert Lee has stated it in The Christian Century, man alienated from society by mass culture in quest of self-identity.

In modern times organizational apathy engendered by 'massness' has preceded the rise of dictators who have been able to capture a society's command posts.<sup>10</sup>

In the mass society where human relations are fragmented and superficial,

<sup>9</sup>Sarah M. Harris and Ralph E. Ellsworth, The American Right Wing (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1962), p. 25.

<sup>10</sup>Robert Lee, "Social Sources of the Radical Right," The Christian Century, (May 9, 1962), 596.

persons in quest of identity almost invariably seek new organizational relationships.

The longing for community is perennial, and many individuals are eager to follow down whatever path that longing seems to lead - whether to the Far Right or to the Far Left.<sup>11</sup>

This is what Hoffer finds as the psychological motivation of the extremist, that not being able to generate self-assurance out of his individual resources, he finds it by clinging passionately to whatever support he happens to embrace. Though it is a holding on for his own security, he sees himself as a defender of the cause to which he clings.

An individual existence, even when purposeful, seems to him trivial, futile and sinful. To live without an ardent dedication is to be adrift and abandoned. He sees in tolerance a sign of weakness, frivolity and ignorance.<sup>12</sup>

His dedication gives him someone to love and someone to hate and, there being small opportunity to do battle with the actual enemy, the radical right has turned toward the enemy within.

### C. Religious Manifestations of Extremism

It is not surprising that much of the leadership of the right extreme has a strong fundamentalist background. Fundamentalism is an emphasis within Protestant denominations of the inerrancy of the Bible, salvation by faith alone, and the pre-millennial return of Christ.

It is a growing socio-religious force in America whose more moderate wing has attempted to work out a position of 'classic orthodoxy' in theology and an over-all modus vivendi with liberal Protestantism; whereas its more extreme wing has been defined by

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 597.      <sup>12</sup>Hoffer, op. cit., p. 82.

a belligerent opposition to liberal Protestantism and deep hostility to the National Council of Churches.<sup>13</sup>

His emphasis upon literalness and purity of doctrine causes the fundamentalist to look upon pragmatism in dealing with society with the same suspicions with which he views revisionism or modernism in religious thought. Also, from the fundamentalist viewpoint, any departure from 19th-century capitalism has meant a corruption of sacrosanct economic doctrines rising out of the "Protestant ethic" of individualism, and those that would revise this ideology are considered heretical. The rightist feels strongly the defection of the National Council of Churches which he holds to be impressively pro-labor.

Time was when organized religion could be counted on to support free enterprise and to recognize its rewards as an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.<sup>14</sup>

His concept of a "black and white" world of the saved and the damned has also lent itself to reactionary political purposes. Conflict with Russia becomes a war of the forces of good and evil. The struggle is no longer of power blocs but of faiths. The danger of communism, therefore, is held to be from within, from the corrosion of faith by collectivism - the fundamentalist's secular counterpart of atheism.

## II. THE RESOLUTION OF EXTREMIST CONFLICT

### A. Conflict Situations Involving the Church

In his *Communism and the Churches*, Ralph Roy concludes that there

<sup>13</sup>David Danzig, "The Radical Right and the Rise of the Fundamentalist Minority," Commentary (April, 1962).

<sup>14</sup>Alfred Haake, Faith and Fact (New York: Stackpole Press, 1953), p. 14.

is little evidence that extremists of the left have ever drawn plans for the capture of organized religion in this country like the plans which were constructed in Communist Party circles to capture organized labor. The main device used with churchmen has been the front group designed to lure the non-communist into communist-oriented organizations.

Letterheads have invited participation and included names of distinguished fellow clergy. Ministers do not have the time, the resources, nor the inclination to keep dossiers on non-communist and communist individuals and groups seeking their help. Most of the objectives for which these individuals and groups claimed to be fighting - peace, racial equality, higher wages, public housing, better schools, have a broad and legitimate appeal.<sup>15</sup>

With or without Communist inspiration, extreme left-wing groups still appeal to Protestant leaders for support of public demonstrations and pronouncements concerned with disarmament, civil rights and international cooperation. Though communist influence in American churches may be near the zero mark, both ministers and laymen must be aware of sponsoring agents in causes to which they lend their support, lest they find themselves supporting the agent rather than the cause. This should not inhibit the church from social action for fear of involvement, but calls for closer scrutiny of both the issue and the people connected with it. However, forces far more influential than Communism have exploited the Communist issue in the past few years to delay social advance. The radical right, avowedly religious in nature, has seen the menace of Communism most urgently in the Protestant ministry.

That is to say, they equate Protestantism of any sort with a plot to transform 'true' Christianity into a vehicle for Marxism. Since their 'true' Christianity is essentially identical with that

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<sup>15</sup>Roy, op. cit., p. 425.

of 19th Century rural America, they find evidence of the plot in any departure from laissez faire free enterprise, or white Anglo-Saxon Protestant supremacy; conversely, ministers who support the 'social gospel,' who are sympathetic to theological modernism, religious pluralism, racial integration, ecumenism, internationalism, are clearly - in the Radical Right formula - considered supporters of a liberalism, 'which leads to Socialism, which leads to Communism.'<sup>16</sup>

While ministers and teachers have been special targets, all social action programs and all denominational and inter-denominational bodies passing social resolutions have been suspect. The attack is nothing new. The populists at the turn of the Century, the anti-Catholicism of the late Twenties, the Christian Freedom Foundation and Spiritual Mobilization in the Thirties, all were amalgamations of Protestant zeal and reactionary animus, and all have taken as the enemy, the intellectual, the union leader and civil libertarian. But seldom has liberal Protestantism been subjected to such bigotry and calumny as has marked the crusades of the Birch Society, the Christian Crusade, the Church League of America, the International Council of Christian Churches and the Circuit Riders. From non-religious sources have come the diatribes of the anti-segregationist and the anti-Semitic. Less vicious, but equally as disruptive, have been such groups as the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and the Christian Citizen. Whatever the title or however ubiquitous the influence, these extremists have, as the Christian Century has put it, "competed for the soul of Protestantism" by wedging a restoration of the old-time religion to pre-New Deal free enterprise and isolationism.

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<sup>16</sup>Richard Horchler, "Anti-Communism, The Extreme Right and the Church," Background Reports, (National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1962).

At the time of this writing, there seems to be a marked diminution of power and influence in the radical groups. The revulsion against extremism by the entire nation that followed the tragic assassination of President Kennedy seems to have carried over into the "Johnson times." Some say that the radical right might have spent itself in an unsuccessful attempt to capture the Republican party. It is not the purpose or the scope of this paper to speculate as to the future plans of the extremists, but to evaluate the methods and the strategy with which the churches have met and dealt with the conflict these groups have caused.

The overt attack of the radical right, or by those under their influence, has been well documented. Abusive letters and phone calls both to ministers and to their congregations have by intimation accused them of both treason and apostasy. The bombing of the homes of two Los Angeles clergymen, though deplored by local rightist leaders, was in some way stimulated by the inflammatory attacks of the extremists. Vandalism and defacement of churches followed a defense of ministers in the Seattle area against a right-wing threat. These acts of violence have been publicized and denounced by all but the most completely irresponsible of the conservative groups. What is difficult to determine is the number of people that have been influenced to doubt the efficacy and the centrality of the social concern of the church. The appeal of this nativist nationalism has not been confined to the rabid. As David Danzig explains it:

The redistribution of power both abroad and at home has disheartened many moderate people - those who gladly might have settled for less than a monopoly if they could be sure that the Russians (and the Chinese) would do likewise, and who might have accepted the claims of the racial, religious and ethnic minorities

(and of labor), so long as these did not encroach upon their own lives, and so long as their own interests continued to be dominantly represented.<sup>17</sup>

Thus the opposition has grown to the churches' promotion of social reform and international pluralism, and anything less than a belligerent nationalism has come under attack. These conflict situations have run the gamut from questions raised in local church board meetings, to resolutions before state conferences, to demands for withdrawal from interdenominational bodies to pressure on ministers and administrators to resign. Despite the different kinds of precipitating incidents or the particular fomenting group that has stirred up a community, there has been a remarkable similarity in the development and growth of these controversies. In many ways each has followed the characteristic course of community conflict that James S. Coleman has outlined in his study for the Twentieth Century Fund:

The most important changes in issues are: (a) from specific disagreements to more general ones, (b) elaboration into new and different disagreements, and (c) a final shift from disagreement to direct antagonism. The changes in social organization of the community are: the polarization of social relationships as the controversy intensifies, as the participants cut off relations with those who are not on their side, and elaborate relations with those who are; the formation of partisan organizations and the emergence of new, often extremist partisan leaders to wage the war more efficiently; and the mobilization of existing community organizations on one side or the other.<sup>18</sup>

This has been the general course of the struggle between the churches and the extremist groups.

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<sup>17</sup>Danzig, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>18</sup>James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 13.

### B. Methods of Resolution

The methods of resolution have been as varied as the incidents of conflict, but a pattern of creative leadership seems to emerge out of much experience.

Churches have met the challenge of the extremists in three ways. The first has been a natural self-protective or retaliatory method. Individual clergymen and local church groups have spoken out in repudiation of the radical right attacks either before or during an appearance of the extremist groups. In some areas, joint clergymen statements have presented a united front against an anticipated attack on a community by a radical group. One such denomination-wide pronouncement, given wide circulation in New York papers, was believed partially responsible for the cancellation of a proposed rightist rally in that city in June of 1962. It said:

Hurling their unsubstantiated charges of disloyalty at leaders and institutions dedicated to building the free society that Communism despises but can scarcely defeat, they are creating an anxiety neurosis in the nation. They are destroying the people's trust in their free churches, schools and elected governments.<sup>19</sup>

At the local church level, individuals have made proper use of the democratic process itself in protection against extremist attacks. In one Southern California area a professional person, carried away by the bitterness and enthusiasm of the rightist cause, accused a minister of being a Communist. Under threat of slander charges the individual apologized and made a public retraction of his statement as having no

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<sup>19</sup>Report of New York Presbytery, referred to in Horchler, op. cit., p. 4.

basis in fact. One danger in this method of resolution has been the temptation to meet all opposition with the same objectionable practice of "guilt by association." At a nation-wide Episcopal conference of that church's Division of Christian Citizenship in 1962, one of the conclusions was that in many communities conservatives who support the democratic process have been alienated by hasty identification with the radical right. Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, in their excellent The Strange Tactics of Extremism, point up this temptation as the natural burden of the moderate's position.

If we were to start nipping movements in the bud, before their actions had made their character unmistakably clear, we would both impoverish our society and nip freedom itself to pieces bit by bit. The decision, then, that something must be done to counteract the influence of an extremist group is always one that has to be made, as it were, late in the game. This is part of the hazard of freedom; and part also, paradoxically, of its program of self-continuance.<sup>20</sup>

Another method of self protection has been the gathering of resource materials and information with which local churches could prepare themselves for the pressures of extremist conflict. Most major denominations and inter-denominational groups have prepared itemizations of charges and evidence and dossiers on extremist zealots. This material, however, must be adapted to meet local conflict and to reflect local circumstances. It is necessary to analyze rightist publications and to be able to expose their inaccuracies and propaganda techniques. The Overstreets concur:

We have found no short-cut to an understanding of how they build up a case against a target person or group. If we want

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<sup>20</sup>Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, The Strange Tactics of Extremism (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), p. 30.

to defend our mind and our institutions against their peculiar type of assault by words, we have to read enough to learn the verbal mannerisms of those who do the writing.<sup>21</sup>

They also give some very practical and tested advice as to dealing publicly with extremist groups. For example, communication with community organizations is important so that false charges when they are made will not be credited and support can be rallied. A basic point is that of trust in the public and in the news media to separate fact from fiction and truth from fabrication. The Overstreets warn that criticism should not be angrily dismissed without first weighing it for whatever merit it may have.

To acknowledge error is as important as to refuse to let unjust criticism pass unchallenged.<sup>22</sup>

Serious attacks from extremist groups should be taken into the open with as many people present and as many sides represented as possible.

Another response to radical groups is the turning of attention to the actual study of the issue at hand, in this case communism, the nature of the threat it poses to the free world and the ways in which Americans can effectively combat the threat. Though most denominations had included units on communism in their youth and adult curricula before the anti-communist pressures of the past few years, most have launched new study programs on the meaning of Christian freedom and the church in a free society. There is always the danger that an immediate and concentrated attack by the church on either the extreme left or the extreme right will in itself tend to stir up an exaggerated and irrational response in the community. Even on the side of justice the

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 188.    <sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 291.

church must act as a reconciling agent seeking to bring antagonists together rather than championing one against the other.

In a positive approach of what one believes rather than a negative, defensive emphasis upon what one is against, some outstanding statements have been given on the local and national level. In the midst of an ultra-rightist attack upon his ministry, one pastor ended his sermon with these words:

As you act as a Christian, you can act through the channels of the church. You fight communism and fascism as you support your church, its missions and schools, its hospitals and orphanages, and demonstrate your loyalty by your attendance, your prayers, your gifts and your service. You are in the right place: As St. Paul said, 'Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might: for we fight against the rulers of the darkness of this world.'<sup>23</sup>

Similar positive Christian challenges have come from denominational leaders that have pointed up the dangers of extremism from any direction. The temptation to draw controversy only in "black and white" applies not only to the right, but gives reason for a laymen's group to express this concern, which bears consideration whether one agrees with their concept of the church and social action or not:

We do not question the danger of 'extremism on the right' but why is there never any concern evidenced by the social actionists regarding the 'extreme left?'<sup>24</sup>

Regarding this danger, the United Christian Missionary Society cautions,

Just ridiculing the shallowness and deception of the anti-communist groups is not a sufficient answer. We have taken too

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<sup>23</sup>Charles S. Kendall, a sermon of the First Methodist Church of Hollywood, California, April 18, 1961.

<sup>24</sup>Laymen's "Social Action" Study Group, Information Letter (Sierra Madre, Calif.: April 27, 1963).

lightly the world struggle between Christian-democratic values and those of the Communists.<sup>25</sup>

To help churches make this approach to extremist conflict, denominations and inter-denominational groups have published well documented materials that examine all facets of the communist question - political, historical and theoretical. The National Council of Churches has also sponsored a series of educational radio programs on "Christianity and Communism." Another positive approach was the "Town Meeting For Democracy" held in Los Angeles in April of 1962 in which, as The Christian Century reported it, moderates, of conservative or liberal persuasion, delivered a firm rebuke to the authoritarian extremists who are trying to make the name "Los Angeles" a synonym for the bizarre, the unbalanced and the demagogic. One of the principal speakers, a United States Senator, placed the meeting in perspective when he said: "We meet here to reaffirm our belief in the dignity of man, our trust in humanity and our confidence in the basic doctrines of American democracy."

Another positive reaction of churches has been a recognition of the secularism which has all but submerged the spiritual values of our culture and made inevitable the growth of extremist groups. A conference of Episcopal church leaders called in 1962 to consider the problem came to the conclusion that there is a vacuum of belief into which the radical right has stepped. The conference put this question to Episcopalian: Are we basically concerned about the democratic process, or

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<sup>25</sup>United Christian Missionary Society, Social Action-Newsletter (September, 1961).

only in stamping out a brush-fire which represents an ideology we find offensive? The Message of the Methodist Council of Bishops in November of 1961 enunciated a similar theme:

It is time to say that while the menace of Communism on the world scene can scarcely be exaggerated, the immediate threat of Communism within the United States is slight in comparison with the truly great threat. That threat is godless materialism, moral decay and easy-going self-righteousness which is everywhere. It is the breakdown of family and home life, the loss of integrity and sense of responsibility for the common good, in all segments of society. It is the false patriotism of those who would make God into our image and quite without thought of soul-searching and repentance, claim God for our side, ascribing divinity to our achievements and our aims.<sup>26</sup>

Elwyn A. Smith in The Christian Century expressed this concern in his question to all churchmen: Is the kind of Christianity preached in the mainline church bodies distinguishable from merely "religious" ways of talking about the national welfare? The question for denominations is whether the program machinery they have created will be dominated by ideas and purposes that arise from their character as churches of Jesus Christ.

Whatever particular consequences follow from the loss of their identity as Christian institutions, the churches will stand revealed in their weakness: in this century, the American denominations were incapable of discovering the gospel and applying it lucidly, courageously and critically to the ethical issues that confront their members.<sup>27</sup>

However, despite the variety and complexity of individual, church and denominational reaction to the extremist pressures, many ministers and administrators have shown patience, understanding, courage and a

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<sup>26</sup>Horchler, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>27</sup>Elwyn A. Smith, "Rightism: Revivalism Revived," The Christian Century (November 14, 1962).

depth of love that has been a witness to their Christian faith. Some have tried to establish a dialogical relationship with the extremists in their congregations. When this has been a substitute for a firm stand it has strengthened the radical cause. A Phoenix, Arizona, pastor, interviewed by the author, whose ministry was at one time under bitter attack by right wing groups both from within and from without his congregation, finally gave up trying to reason with the opposition and simply announced from his pulpit that he was going to get on with the task of preaching the gospel rather than proclaiming the dangers of communism each Sunday. Many of his parishioners who had been both neutral and silent during the conflict came to him after the service asking why he had not taken this position earlier, and pledged their support.

Examples of truly creative leadership have emerged from recent conflict with the radical right that can offer guidelines to the church as it faces future problems with extremist groups.

### III. HONOLULU CHURCHES AND EXTREMIST GROUPS

Protestant churches in Hawaii have found it difficult not to be identified with the missionary founded, traditionally conservative business community. It has only been in the past few years that even predominantly Oriental membership churches have not shared this conservative outlook. Now, with the change in the political picture, Protestant church life has assumed a more natural distribution of conservative and liberal forces. Pressures from both extremes, however, have plagued ministers and churches in the Islands, and the tension between prophetic integrity and popular expectancy is just as real in

Honolulu as in any other American city. Yet, unlike some areas, churches in Hawaii, working together, have been able to resolve many of the conflicts with extremist groups.

In 1952, an Island labor union executive stated to an investigation group of the House Un-American Activities Committee that he had been a member of the Communist Party in Hawaii for thirteen years, serving two terms on its executive board. He testified of meeting with certain professional people and university teachers, and of being sent to a Communist school in San Francisco where he had been taught the principles of Marxist doctrines, the analysis and preparation of propaganda and the tactics of labor agitation. On the basis of this testimony, seven individuals were convicted under the Smith Act. Even though their appeals were upheld by higher courts, they still remain identified Communists in the eyes of the conservatives in the Islands. One can therefore understand the uproar that accompanied the passing by the 1963 Legislature, and the support by the Governor, of a bill which puts only a five-year limit on disclosure of subversive activities by state job applicants. The primary lobbying for the bill was that of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union whose leaders were among those tried and acquitted. Whether Communist dominated or not, pressure from the left through the unions is felt in every area of Island life. The impact of 25-30,000 votes that labor claims to control has a great effect on Hawaii's politics, though its decisive nature is yet to be demonstrated.

The pressure on the churches by the extremists of the left is in requests by individuals and organizations for support of liberal, social

and political welfare measures that, by themselves, are legitimate concerns of the church, but in their political context constitute support of left-wing forces. In the legislative debate over declaration of subversive activities for state job applicants, for example, social action committees of churches were hesitant to express concern over the dangers of "witch-hunting" and "guilt by association" without at the same time appearing to be in support of the radical leftist group. Typical of extremist activity is the kind of "either-or" position into which it drives other organizations in a community. This is especially true of churches in Honolulu, for pressure from the left has driven ministers and congregations into more support of the ultra-right than many actually desire to give.

No group in power ever surrenders power easily. Though owners and management in the Islands have gradually acceded to labor's demands, they have made clear their opposition to the left wing leadership with whom they have had to deal. They cite, for example, the statement of the admitted Communist informant that all of the strategy for the disastrous Sugar Strike of 1946 was planned and decided in the Party's executive meetings. Support of labor's positions, in many eyes, is support of labor's leadership, and support of that leadership is support of convicted Communists. The problem is that most of labor's concerns, in theory, ought also to be the concerns of a prophetic Christian witness involved in social action.

#### IV. OPINIONS OF HONOLULU CHURCHMEN CONCERNING LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH EXTREMIST GROUPS

If number and extent of answers are indicative of interest, then respondents are most interested in the question that asked: What leadership and strategy should churches, denominations and council take in meeting problems created by groups on the political extremes of right and left? A clue as to why this question received somewhat more consideration may be in answers that imply a greater defensiveness on the part of churchmen in this area of conflict than in others. Although there has been no pressure from extremist groups to equal that of mainland cities, Honolulu ministers speak of vicariously experiencing the direct assault upon churches and ministry which this kind of social problem has produced. In labor-management strife, or in issues dealing with ethnic integration, the church stands to the side of the contending parties and seeks to reconcile them. In recent struggles with the radical right, however, churchmen themselves have been under attack.

This has not led to timidity on the part of Honolulu ministers. Many begin their answers by saying that church leaders should not shy away from controversy, but should call for open discussion of extremist conflict. The greatly respected Hawaiian pastor of Kawaiahao Church sets all answers in Christian perspective when he says, "Understanding comes by dialogue that opens doors to each other's hearts and minds. Occasions can be planned for such hearing and speaking." The Chairman of the Episcopal Department of Christian Social Relations states that, "Even though I think it is wrong for churches to identify themselves with political parties or shades of opinion, nevertheless I believe that

church groups and spokesmen should encourage free investigation and open discussion of political issues and help to point out areas in which reason, legality and justice are endangered."

Three ministers of different denominations give special mention to the strategy of the "small group." The more possibilities there are for personal encounter, the greater is the opportunity for an expression of Christian conviction as well as understanding. It is this feeling that leads a Methodist pastor to say that he does not think much is to be gained by militantly fighting the extremists, for the techniques soon become strangely familiar. "More positive interpretation of the standards of the Faith that outlives such movements in human society can give new life to the questing." Southern Baptist ministers agree with one of their number who says the "task of the pulpit is to voice the Biblical message rather than to attempt to define extreme positions." Moving along a conservative continuum, the Adventist minister questions the church's intervening in extremist conflict. "The ecclesiastical power of the church is weakened by political contagion," he says. "Only as individuals ought we to have marked opinions and voice our reactions." The independent pastors object to church involvement. "This is purely a political matter," says one. "Render unto Caesar... this is certainly in Caesar's bailiwick as far as I am concerned."

The majority of ministers, however, move from the center of Christian witness toward a greater involvement in and leadership of community conflict with extremist groups. A Congregational pastor feels that, beginning with Christian commitment, the church is under mandate to present a concept of the healthy sort of political life that

should be maintained. "There is not as much evidence of the extremes in our community," he says, "as there is need for a maturing of the political life of our people so that attitudes are evidence of the evaluation of issues." Others call for firm positions, clearly stated and publicized. "Clear positions should be taken and publicly stated on all church levels against authoritarian groups of both right and left - on the basis of their contempt for democracy and especially for their contempt for the freedom and responsibility of man" A Lutheran pastor calls for frank exposure of extremist groups. He is one of many who feel that both denominations and council should make strong public statements.

There are some however who doubt the wisdom of this strategy. One Chinese Congregational minister, who has recently returned to the Islands after serving a mainland church, speaks of situations where extremists should be ignored, "because the church has too much important work to do to bother acknowledging the extremists' every attack. Most people recognize the extremists for what they are, and some people have already made up their minds and they cannot and will not listen to reason. The extremists tend to call the tune." A Presbyterian pastor concurs in this, "The churches should avoid any procedures which might leave room for martyrdom on the part of extremist groups." Most Methodist ministers express the same concern. One puts it, "I ignore them. Let our leadership be so clear as to make apparent the error of both right and left. An open attack may play into their hands and engender sympathy from otherwise disinterested sources."

Three of the respondents use a "Pidgin English" phrase that has real meaning for this particular kind of conflict. "Cool head main 'ting" is an accepted Island idiom that should, they feel, be applied to the church's struggles with the extremists because they are so obviously ones in which emotions are involved. One suggests that objectivity can be maintained by a study of the historical depth and Biblical perspective of conflict situations. The Jewish Rabbi makes a most meaningful appeal for understanding when he suggests, "I do not think that groups on either the extreme right or left should be condemned unless they engage in character assassination or seek to foment racial or religious hatred. If this should occur, it would be the church's duty to explain the issues and point out the fallacies in the presentation of the extremist group." This seems a more positive attitude than that of the few who feel that the church should not identify itself with either side because extremist conflict is no longer a problem. This is quite similar to the answers of the Buddhist priests who advise walking the "middle path" because one-sided political inclinations tend to be dogmatic.

Most of the layman respondents, however, tend to be dogmatic in their concern that information and education about radical groups are the major responsibilities of church, denomination and council. One suggests a research department to be set up in the council office to gather data with which to identify the extremists. Laymen of most every denomination express the need for speakers and materials with which the individual can draw conclusions that will clarify issues. "Preparation and continuity are the essential things," says one. "The

church is not farsighted. It is never prepared when a storm of extremism breaks."

One aspect of leadership important to lay leaders, but not mentioned by the ministers, is that of responsibility for public witness. Many of the laymen feel that committee action in the area of extremist conflict should come only after being referred to a larger group. One Congregational layman gives a very practical answer to the question, "For the most part ignore the conflict, though it is important to have a regular standard operating procedure of the evaluation of facts and the placing of them in proper framework. I am convinced that people go off half-cocked under the influence of effective rhetoric." Just as practical is the strategy suggested by a Baptist layman that the task of the minister is to see that Christian principles are upheld as both sides are given freedom to speak, but to see also that "the loud ones don't sway the others." A Quaker gives similar advice, that "churches should provide forums for objective appraisal of issues without emotionalism." Another strategy which the ministers do not mention is that of joining forces with other community agencies in meeting the pressures of extremist groups, but, says a layman of the Disciples Church, "at all times the Christian is committed to treating people as persons and to win them through love."

Island denominational and council executives favor a "middle of the road" approach to the extremists. One feels that churches as a whole are too conservative and that their neutrality is actually a support of the right. Another, having served on the Mayor's committee that deals with community conflict, feels that ministers are inclined toward

a more liberal commitment. The third agrees with the majority of laymen that it is the denominations' responsibility to sponsor forums and study groups throughout the state to consider the Christian attitude toward these problems and to make plain that both extremes are unchristian. The Council of Churches' executive supports the group of ministers who feel that fighting the extremes doesn't do much good. "The problem is largely emotional and therefore doesn't lend itself to rational or logical solutions. I'm inclined to feel that the only way is for groups (at various levels) to stand and speak out of conviction without directing criticisms at conservative or extremist groups except as implied by the positions taken. There is something in consistency and honest openness which best answers those who do not share one's position. The best strategy is development of self-understanding regarding one's own position."

#### V. EVALUATION OF A PROJECT IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

With genuine, though their opponents felt exaggerated, concern that Hawaii be made more aware of the Communist menace, the ultra-conservatives, late in 1961, made plans to sponsor an Hawaii school of Anti-Communism the following February. The school was to be under the direction of Dr. Fred Schwartz, whose Christian Anti-Communist Crusades in Phoenix, San Diego, Los Angeles and other cities consisted of four or five days of intensive presentation of material through lectures, movies, panels and "speaking classes" to teach methods of articulating anti-Communism. Though knowledgeable in matters of dealing with Communism, himself, Schwartz has always included among his "faculty" those

who espouse the now familiar radical right positions: The U. S. must withdraw from the U. N., the Supreme Court has made decisions favorable to Communist subversion, there are more names of ministers than any other profession on the list of Communist supporters in this country, the National Council of Churches advocates admission of Red China to the U. N. and is sympathetic to Communist goals, etc. There has been verifiable evidence linking vilification, attacks on character, picketing of churches and other actions with persons attending anti-communist schools. Dr. Schwartz acknowledges this fact but claims that he cannot be held responsible for what happens after the schools.

Aware of these reactions in other places, ministers and churches in Honolulu expressed publicly their concern that the same results would occur in the Islands, and the conflict was joined. The school was held as planned. Those who attended seemed to gain from it, at least in knowledge of communist history, doctrine and subversion tactics. To this writer's knowledge there have been none of the repercussions that have followed other schools or rightist pressures in other places, no accusations of un-Americanism or heresy, no withdrawing of pledges or memberships from churches, no community enmities or lasting suspicions. Part of this was due to the distance of the Hawaii school in both time and space from the peak of intensity reached in the Los Angeles and San Diego areas. However, most of it, I think, was due to the efforts of cooperating Honolulu pastors whose relationships to the community were creative enough to resolve the conflict. The following sections discuss some of the factors involved.

#### A. Cooperation

The Social Action Committee of the council contacted pastors and church and denominational social action chairmen, apprising them of the Schwartz school and setting before them something of its purposes, procedures and consequences in other places. The Catholic, Buddhist and Jewish groups were contacted and their help in interpreting the total meaning of the school to the community was enlisted. The Catholic Diocese declined to cooperate with either the school or the churches. Later the Chancellor-Secretary made a public statement in opposition to extremism of any form. Council committee members contacted the school sponsoring group and asked to be included in its deliberations as to the necessity for such a program. The council representatives were given full opportunity to express their fear that the same after-effects that plagued other communities might also occur in Honolulu. Many of the sponsoring committee were active and respected members of Honolulu churches and these were contacted by ministers who shared the Council's concern. The public media, in particular the newspapers, were made aware of the school's record in other places and were assured of church support in a critical evaluation of the over-all effects of the anti-communist movement.

#### B. Preparation

Churches, through the council, began an immediate compilation of materials about the radical right in general and the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade in particular. The Islands were fortunate in that a newly arrived Methodist minister had been head of a conference committee

in Southern California that had dealt with the school and evaluated its results. He gathered correspondence from pastors and public officials in cities that had encountered similar schools, and these were presented to the sponsoring committee in Hawaii. Trying to be constructive in their relationship to the sponsors, yet concerned over the singular, right wing approach that the school had always made elsewhere, the council representatives were prepared to offer the names of more moderate authorities that could offer a bi-partisan approach to the problem of communism. Many of the sponsoring committee were favorable to this suggestion, and many were disturbed when the Schwartz group would not accept it.

#### C. Communication

Though many of the denominational executives and leading pastors in Honolulu were close personal friends of the sponsoring committee, they were forthright in support of the council and stated publicly their concern over the effects in other places of this kind of presentation. Some felt it necessary to decline or to withdraw from participation in the sponsoring group. The one who remained gave just as effective a witness by attempting to steer the planning in a moderate direction and at the same time being quoted as fearful of the dangers of extremist pressure. Denominational staffs were in contact with their national commissions on social action and gathered material that was helpful to the council committee.

Perhaps of greatest importance was the concerted effort of pastors and churches to keep open the lines of personal encounter and

friendship with both avid supporters and the strong objectors. A planned effort was made not to draw the community into warring camps, and it was the council committee that asked the sponsoring group if they could sit down with them and with the Schwarz leaders and make known their concerns. Local churches also determined to deal with the potential conflict as a body, willing to take a definite stand, willing to hear contrary opinion, but always to meet the problem as a united group. In his questionnaire, the Professor of Religion at the University recalls that he along with other ministers attended the school, did not say anything to promote it, and "just waited with the ammunition which we did not use." Another Congregational minister, past president of the Honolulu Council of Churches, remembers that by attending the school and by consciously keeping open the lines of personal communication that the churches simply refused to be attacked. "In a sense, we kind of killed it with kindness and objectivity."

#### D. Redemption

Honolulu churches used this particular conflict situation creatively, and many began studies of the Christian's responsibility in the cold-war world. Schools were stimulated to evaluate their instruction in the ideals and requirements of the democratic system. It seems to the author as if the entire community of Honolulu was challenged by its religious groups to find, not so much what it was against, but what it was for. They were saying in general what one Episcopal minister says in particular to the issue of extremism on the questionnaire, "I believe that the Christian Gospel must always speak the word of judgment upon

the ambiguity of all human systems and dangers of idolatry." It is what Henry L. Stimson once put in similar though secular terms, "I do not mean to belittle the communist challenge. I only mean that the essential question is one which we should have to answer if there were not a Communist alive. Can we make freedom and prosperity real in the present world? If we can, communism is no threat. If we cannot, with or without communism our civilization would ultimately fail."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Henry L. Stimson, from a statement made in 1947, The New York Times (December 21, 1963).

## CHAPTER VII

### LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL ACTION IN DEALING WITH RACIAL AND ETHNIC INTEGRATION

Lawrence H. Fuchs closes his book, Hawaii Pono, with a chapter on "The Promise of Hawaii," in which he says:

The Hawaiian aloha exemplified by this story was a product of many things - Polynesian attitudes, missionary conscience, and the patience and good will of immigrants from the Far East...

Hawaii illustrates the nation's revolutionary message of equality of opportunity for all, regardless of background, color or religion.

This is the promise of Hawaii, promise for the entire nation and, indeed, the world, that peoples of different races and creeds can live together, enriching each other, in harmony and democracy.<sup>1</sup>

Fuchs, professor at Brandeis University, and former director of Peace Corps operations in the Philippines, comes to this conclusion not because he believes that racial and ethnic integration have been achieved in the Islands, but rather because, in spite of social and economic conflict, there is a potential for ethnic harmony which is to be found in no other place in the world. Honolulu ministers and laymen seem agreed that though total equality cannot be claimed at every point, the possibility of its achievement is greater in the Islands than anywhere else.

How important has been the church's role in the resolution of racial and ethnic conflict? What leadership has it given in the past

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<sup>1</sup>Lawrence H. Fuchs, Hawaii Pono (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), p. 449.

and what influence does it now have in the progress of integration? What strategy ought Island churches employ in assuring continued integration throughout the community? This chapter seeks to explore the character of racial and ethnic conflict, its Christian perspective, and the church's involvement, leadership and strategy in the solution of conflict, the role of the minister, and whether Island churches have been, are and will continue to be part of the "promise of Hawaii" for the world.

This chapter of the dissertation has been the most difficult to write because of the immediacy of race problems throughout the nation and the attendant reappraisal of ethnic concerns in the Islands. The pattern of colored-white relationships has changed so rapidly in the past five years that any word painting of it is out of date the moment it is produced. However, no matter what the social heritage or geographical focus, the basis of conflict continues to lie in the nature of man and in his estrangement from God and neighbor. Differences in conflict lie only in degrees of frustration, hostility and aggression.

#### I. THE CHARACTER OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

Whether defined as Kluckhohn's "free-floating aggression," Allport's "displaced hostility," or Freud's "sediment of feelings of aversion," authorities seem to agree with the observed fact that individuals in human society manifest some animosity toward other individuals or social groups. Robin Williams, writing for the Social Science Research Council, claimed that four-fifths of the American population lead mental lives in which feelings of hostility play appreciable roles.

In all known social systems individuals conceive of themselves as belonging to in groups and obliged to repress hostility toward these, but to direct it to out groups. The greater the in feeling, the greater the out hostility.<sup>2</sup>

Hostility seems to be the function of frustration and insecurity and, once produced, expresses itself either in open conflict, repression, projection or displacement. Gordon Allport distinguishes three areas of life where frustration and insecurity are most likely to occur. There are constitutional or personal reasons, such as short stature or slow intelligence, that may be the cause; though these usually lead to more personal defenses than to projections upon out groups. Allport concludes that hostility is therefore a social fact requiring a social context, for if continually frustrated or disappointed, the individual makes an almost instinctive response of aggressive assertiveness toward available rather than logical objects. There are also frustrations within the family, rejection or harsh treatment, that can lead to a displacement of hostility toward out groups. The economic frustration of our highly competitive culture is the third area of experience that produces the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Conflict seems to be inevitable, therefore, when two peoples in contact can be distinguished by either structural or cultural differences or by actual or potential competition. Anger is an emotional reaction toward individuals because of the thwarting of some ongoing concern or activity. Hatred is toward groups. To hate the group is easier than to hate the individual because we cannot help but identify ourselves with the individual and his

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<sup>2</sup>Robin M. Williams, "The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions," Social Science Research Council Bulletin 57, (1947), p. 51.

needs. Allport finds some hope in the darkness of today's racial problems when he observes:

Considering the commonness of frustration within family and occupation, and the amount of repression required to prevent inconvenient expressions of hostility, we may wonder that so many people escape developing out-group prejudice.<sup>3</sup>

Prejudice is defined as a prejudgment of individuals on the basis of some social categorization that acts in advance of the particular situation in which it appears. The prejudiced person brings to a particular situation certain beliefs and predispositions as to the traits of others. As Williams points out, the particular type of prejudice which is important in understanding hostility and conflict among ethnic or racial groups is a negative attitude which violates some important norms nominally accepted in the culture. Ethnic group is defined as one possessing continuity through biological descent whose members share a distinctive social and cultural tradition. A racial group is one which shares common, distinctive hereditary physical characteristics through biological descent. Discrimination is the prejudicial treatment of individuals in a particular social group who, though formally qualified, are not dealt with in conformity with nominally universal codes of justice.

The most important factor in racial or ethnic conflict is the pattern of displaced hostility against the highly visible and vulnerable, a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts the purpose of which is to insult, disparage, ostracize, deprive, or threaten. Contact,

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<sup>3</sup>Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), p. 362.

visibility and competition are the minimum conditions for conflict. Close, personal contact is the basic factor in its mitigation. Displacement is the apparent, not the actual, result of the hostile feeling or action, for the source of the frustration, personal, family, economic or otherwise, is not affected. As Allport points out, the tragedy lies in the fact that the prejudiced individual is not aware of the psychological function that his prejudice serves.

A subtle form of prejudice, perhaps the most destructive in the long run both to perpetrator and to offended, is the maintenance of the status quo and the resultant practice of "gradualism." Justice is sometimes more possible between groups in open conflict than in situations controlled by entrenched power, regardless of its avowed benevolence. Edward LeRoy Long, in his excellent study of the self in conflict roles, comes to the conclusion that,

Most men belong to the status quo by default or inertia. They tolerate the growth of injustice and abuse in order to avoid the unpleasantries of change.<sup>4</sup>

James Baldwin in his letter to his nephew on the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation painted this form of prejudice clearly in "black and white."

They have had to believe for many years and for innumerable reasons that black men are inferior to white men. Many of them, indeed, know better, but, as you will discover, people find it very difficult to act on what they know. To act is

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<sup>4</sup>Edward LeRoy Long, The Role of the Self in Conflicts and Struggle (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 85.

to be committed, and to be committed is to be in danger. In this case, the danger, in the minds of most white Americans, is the loss of their identity.<sup>5</sup>

The delusion in the plea to "go slow" in the solution of social injustice is the failure to recognize the self interest that is served by "gradualism." Change is a constant threat to personal and group security, and psychological needs are met by the social polarization of the "ins" and the "outs" of a particular conflict situation. The individual identifies himself more and more with the group that shares his opinion. The attitude of the group becomes more and more the authority with which the individual deals with the conflict.

Experimental evidence now substantiates the common-sense hunch that individuals are more resistant to change if supported by a group and that changed attitudes are stabilized by membership in a group sharing the change<sup>6</sup>

Antagonisms seem to be inevitable when two groups can be distinguished by structural or cultural differences or by actual or potential competition. This is the competition as to livelihood and status which is basic to security.

Open conflict is the more likely the more direct the inter-group competition for the distributive rewards of wealth, power and prestige, and the more successful the competition of vulnerable groups.<sup>7</sup>

The possibility of conflict seems to heighten when expectations of interpersonal conduct are not met. Simmel saw the resultant hostility as evidence of an instinctive impulse to destroy frustrating objects.

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<sup>5</sup>James Baldwin, The Fire Next Time (New York: Dial Press, 1963), p. 22.

<sup>6</sup>Williams, op. cit., p. 47.      <sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

Allport rejects this monolithic concept of aggression, and present authorities seem to agree that reactive aggression is more a capacity, a capacity that sometimes leads to displacement, rather than a primitive hate-relationship that must be sublimated.

Theoretically, at least, we can create conditions in the family that are less frustrating, and we can train children to meet such frustrations with extrapunitive aggression, or we can train them to direct such aggression upon the true source of their frustration.<sup>8</sup>

Allport makes his greatest contribution to the understanding of race and ethnic conflict when he proposes his displacement theory of aggression in contrast to the Freudian view that aggressive impulses can be drained off into nonaggressive pursuits. As he makes clear, if this "free-floating" aggression could be drained off, one would assume that racial conflict would be at a minimum when the nation was at war. Yet, if anything, the war times have seen an increase. One would also expect that a nation-wide hostility toward the Russians would drain off racial tensions within the country, yet the day is marked by a violence seldom experienced in our history. Aggression, therefore, for Allport, is a reactive matter, a capacity which may continue latent, rather than an instinct which demands an outlet. In direct contradiction to Simmel who held that the individual was governed by a basic hate toward his environment, Allport, after the manner of Fromm, holds that love is a prerequisite of hate, and that conflict is always at its source the breaking of an affiliative relationship.

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<sup>8</sup>Allport, op. cit., p. 357.

## II. A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

Kyle Haselden reminds us that a Christian view of human relations and conflict should be something more than a reciting of sociological propositions and conclusions. Most explanations of the nature of prejudice begin with the assumption that human nature is basically sound and that all that is needed is education. Christianity says that human nature is self-centered, tempted in every relationship to put itself in the place of God, tempted always to reject the grace of God as revealed in Christ that offers a new life, a greater security, free from the frustration-aggression maintenance of prestige and property. Self-centeredness is the essence of man's estrangement from God, and racial and ethnic prejudice is a specific expression of that alienation,

a visible part of that invisible pride which must subdue all rivals and whose last rival is God.<sup>9</sup>

Discrimination in Christian perspective is therefore the denial of rights on the basis of irrelevant human considerations, and segregation is the separation of man from man in denial of the essential oneness of all mankind as children of God.

In the Christian view every man has a right to personality, self-consciousness, 'I-ness' - his warrant is a creative act of a loving God, the right to be a person - of whatever type - an end in himself.<sup>10</sup>

But can a secular society be bound by ultimate claims, the authority for which it does not recognize? Lonnie D. Kliever, philosophy

<sup>9</sup>Kyle Haselden, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), p. 84.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

professor at Texas Western College, writing in the Christian Century, states forcefully the fact that too many Christians have succumbed to the half truth that one cannot legislate righteousness. Many remain uninvolved in racial crises because, though they condemn personal feelings of racial prejudice, they are not willing to condemn social forms of racial prejudice. Under the strong pull of the status quo, many believe that God calls all men into personal relations with him, but question whether he calls all men into social relation with one another. As Kliever points out, we tend to obscure the distinction and the relation between justice and love with respect to race relations.

There is a difference between the kind of integration which justice demands and the kind of integration which only love creates.<sup>11</sup>

Justice cannot compel men to believe that people of other racial or ethnic groups are their equal or that they must engage in inter-personal relations with them, but justice can demand that participation in the political, educational and economic areas of life be based solely on personal qualification. Justice cannot demand that men treat each other as friends, but it can demand that they respect the rights of each other as citizens. In the society of sinful men justice must be compelled either by moral persuasion, by legislation, or through protest and resistance. However,

sinful men do not voluntarily relinquish a way of life that is economically profitable, politically advantageous and egotistically comforting.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Lonnie D. Kliever, "Justice and Love in the Racial Crisis," Christian Century, (August 26, 1964), 1055.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 1056.

Some force is necessary to move men to create and abide by laws that afford justice to individuals and groups regardless of race, background, creed or color. The traditions of a democratic society are one such force, but the challenge of the Gospel to let such justice be the expression of Christian love is a far greater one. Apparently sociological and anthropological proofs of the falsities of racialism are not enough. Something far deeper is at stake.

The predisposition to think ill of a divergent group is a dark and terrible abyss of evil in the soul of man. If it is robbed of implausible rationalizations, it is quite capable of inventing more plausible ones.<sup>13</sup>

Thus does Reinhold Niebuhr throw the problem of racial and ethnic integration into theological perspective. The question, at bottom, is one of idolatry, one of man's conscious and unconscious efforts to put his culture, his race in place of God. And the answer, at bottom, is one of faith, one of commitment both in thought and in deed to the church

as God's pledge to the world of what he wills for all mankind - the fulfillment and renewal of our true humanity in dependence on God and in relation to every person by and through Jesus Christ.<sup>14</sup>

Christian love, therefore, involves not just an acceptance of the fact that there are no "pure races" and no "inferior races," but rather an active reaching out and accepting all people who are estranged from God and from ourselves.

Yet churches are no different from other social groups in which association is based on class or color. Regardless of the bitterness

<sup>13</sup>Gordon Harland, The Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 258.

<sup>14</sup>Klever, op. cit., p. 1056.

out of which he admittedly writes, James Baldwin gives a personal witness to the oft-repeated fact that no institution in America is more segregated than the Church.

I saw that the principles governing the rites and customs of the churches in which I grew up did not differ from the principles governing the rites and customs of other churches, white. The principles were Blindness, Loneliness and Terror, the first principle necessarily and actively cultivated in order to deny the two others. I would love to believe that the principles were Faith, Hope and Love, but this is clearly not so for most Christians, or for what we call the Christian world.<sup>15</sup>

Small wonder that social scientists dismiss the church as a "function of culture," when it so seldom acts as the conscience of the community.

### III. THE CHURCH'S INVOLVEMENT

The "church" which is to be "the body of Christ" reconciling men to God and to each other is the churches, the local particular expression either of aggressive, inclusive love, or of passive, exclusive fellowship. How valid is the contention that the church has allowed love to be separated from justice and reduced to sentiment, and justice to be separated from love and reduced to custom?

Martin Luther King has said that Christians are responsible for much of the power of the present Negro revolution. Christians - ministers, priests and laymen - have paid with their lives to stand with Negroes in their fight for justice. Yet, churches across the country have been silent, apathetic and indifferent to the struggle; and some churchmen have participated in acts of brutality and callousness that

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<sup>15</sup>Baldwin, op. cit., p. 45.

are the antithesis of Christian faith. Knowing that its commitment to Christ demands an inclusive love of all men, yet bound by the accepted patterns of prejudice and discrimination, the churches have quietly applauded those with courage to ride the Freedom buses but closed their doors to more than token membership of non-white parishioners. So great has been the dilemma of the church that,

It has lagged behind the Supreme Court as the conscience of the nation on the questions of race, and it has fallen far behind trade unions, factories, schools, department stores, athletic gatherings and most major areas of human association as far as the achievement of integration in its own life is concerned.<sup>16</sup>

Certainly this is borne out in the survey of Negro opinion made by Newsweek magazine in 1963. Whereas 88% of those questioned felt that the Administration was in support of the struggle for Negro rights, 85% believed that the Supreme Court was an aid to the cause, and 58% held that Catholic priests could be counted upon for help, only 24% were willing to trust white churches for support and an equal number believed white churches more harmful than helpful to the Negro cause.

There is a lingering suspicion in the Negro community that organized white religion has been slow and even laggard in recognizing discrimination as a moral issue.<sup>17</sup>

Thus did William Brink and Louis Harris summarize their Newsweek findings and thus did they focus on the schizophrenic nature of the church. The categories of Catholic priests and white churches were decided upon

<sup>16</sup> Liston Pope, Kingdom Beyond Caste (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 105.

<sup>17</sup> William Brink and Louis Harris, The Negro Revolution in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), p. 134.

when pre-testing indicated that Catholicism was more meaningful to Negroes in terms of individual priests, while Catholic Church sounded monolithic and unfamiliar. Whereas, "white churches" was understood by all to mean white Protestant religious groups. This comparing of non-comparable items seems unfair. The author wonders if the categories suggested by the pre-testing might also have been indicative of generalizations by Negroes of "white churchmen" rather than judgements of individual minister and layman opinions and attitudes?

However, one must account for churches whose national bodies could do extensive lobbying toward the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, yet whose local congregations would allow or even support the injustice of closed occupancy and de facto segregation? Long before the present dilemma of the church in the midst of racial revolution, Niebuhr was pointing out the inability of churches, rejuvenated by the revivalism that followed World War II, to challenge collective evil or to illuminate collective problems.

The moral transgressions that are embedded in the customs of the community, the sins that we do, not 'one by one,' but with the approval of our community, are not such effective means of creating the sense of crisis upon which the revivalist depends. If the 'sinner' is to be convicted of involvement in some collective sin, it is necessary to appeal not only to the emotions but to the mind; that is, it is necessary rationally to analyze the social situation, conformity to which means violation of the love commandment.<sup>18</sup>

Basic to the evangelical concept of the church is the need for fellowship. But seldom has the fellowship of Christians been made aware of or been willing to accept the fact of its divine nature as

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<sup>18</sup>Harland, op. cit., p. 266.

those, equally unworthy, who by grace are called to be one. Rather, as Dr. King so vividly characterizes many a modern churchman,

He thinks of the Church as his own private country club and not the Body of Christ with two thousand years of history and doctrine. The Church for him is little more than an irrelevant social club with a thin veneer of religiosity, where his daughters can meet and marry the right kind of person, and where the Eighteenth Century heritage of his forefathers can be preserved against the onslaught of modern technology and social forces.<sup>19</sup>

Or, as Niebuhr put it, it is the particular brotherhood, ethnically based, which actually obstructs the universal brotherhood which the Gospel demands. It even appears that many churches are becoming the final refuge for those who refuse to accept the social relevance of Christian commitment. Surrendering to the fact that the public spheres of life will be integrated eventually, the churches for some are becoming bulwarks of segregation, free from public control, offering religious legitimization to that which is customary, economically feasible and psychologically functional. Of these churches surely it is true, as King puts it, that the wedding of Christ with a segregated culture may well prove the end of Christianity as a world religion. Atlanta editor, Ralph McGill, sounds a similar warning:

Every minister with any shred of awareness sees that, just as the racial issue is the greatest political issue before the world today, so it is for Christianity. If the first great commandment of Jesus, and the second which is 'like unto it,' have no validity in the minds of church members, then the churches are finished, or eventually will be.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Martin Luther King, "The Un-Christian Christian," Ebony, (August, 1965), 78.

<sup>20</sup>Ralph McGill, "The Agony of the Southern Minister," New York Times Magazine, (September 27, 1959), 59.

Nor is there middle ground or breathing space for churches or churchmen willing to see the social implications in our time of the fact that in Christ there is "neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male or female." As the demands for justice are met, the church can no longer expect the agencies that have justice as their highest concern to continue to run interference. Gradually the issue is changing from relationships defined legally and publicly to fellowship defined morally and spiritually. James Sellers, writing of the South and Christian ethics, speaks to this point that,

Churches must face up to the fact that problems of brotherhood are never settled on the level of law and order. Every advance of this level only convicts us anew of our own self-centeredness and impels us to seek fresh ways of living together as Christians.<sup>21</sup>

Desegregated schools and open occupancy housing are only the external conditions for brotherhood. The church must answer the question of how men living in a hard and practical world may inwardly become neighbors. It means facing up to the false acceptance of others inherent in the shibboleths of the liberal and the tolerant. The church calls men to accept the unity of all mankind. Yet dealing with ethnic and racial groups as if they were, or should be alike, betrays an ignorance of or even denial of the special contribution that each can make to society. To say that one does not want to think of the non-white as different from the white may be a way of wishing that all were white. The same, subtle pride was pointed out to churchmen twenty years ago by Buell G. Gallagher, at that time Professor of Christian Ethics at the

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<sup>21</sup>James Sellers, The South and Christian Ethics (New York: Association Press, 1962), p. 184.

Pacific School of Religion.

Worst of all, as I struggle for justice for minorities in contemporary society, I marshal the arguments and facts which appear to support the demands for equality and fair play, hurling these at the majority. And in so doing I become an unwitting supporter of the subtlest and yet most effective of all forms of race pride - the assumption that the Caucasian mind is the final arbiter of justice. In trying to prove to the white man that other races merit justice from him, I am supporting Caucasian egotism, tacitly accepting the premise that the majority mind is the final bar before which it is necessary to prove the case for evenhanded justice.<sup>22</sup>

Another subtle, even unconscious denial of the essential theological nature of interracial problems is the attempt by ministers and laymen alike to make the issue of law and order central, and ethnic and racial claims peripheral. In his magnificent "Letter From Birmingham Jail" Martin Luther King answered the eight Alabama clergymen who called his activities "unwise and untimely." They spoke of the moral responsibility to obey the law. He asked them to remember the moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws.

I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Counciler or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate, who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says: 'I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action'; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom;<sup>23</sup>

Are the churches willing to face men with their responsibility to all

<sup>22</sup>Buell G. Gallagher, Color and Conscience (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), p. 18.

<sup>23</sup>Martin Luther King, Jr., Why We Can't Wait (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1963), p. 87.

men before God? Can they inspire men to respect their "otherness"? Can they instill in a man the humility that admits that benevolence can be a denial of another's manhood?

I have heard numerous southern religious leaders admonish their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers declare: 'Follow this decree because integration is morally right and because the Negro is your brother.' In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churchmen stand on the sideline and mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard many ministers say: 'Those are social issues, with which the gospel has no real concern.'<sup>24</sup>

But some churches and many churchmen are witnessing to the fact that the Gospel is by its very nature concerned with social issues and that in our time the basic affirmations of Christian faith are being perverted by the idolatry of racism. There are ministers and laymen who have been willing to face up to the institutional self-preservation, expansion and competition that have dictated the policies of the church and have made the fear of controversy and division greater than the fear of separation and segregation. It is to these that churches must turn for leadership if ever again it is with clarity and vision to point the way beyond the law to

a kingdom where all men are brothers and where each person no matter how rich or poor, how educated or illiterate, how black or white can contribute to his society in love and confidence that his worth is insured by the very fact that he is God's child and that God has breathed into him the breath of life, placed him in a certain spot in history and society and challenged him to live as an heir and partner to the Kingdom of God.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 94-95.

<sup>25</sup> King, "The Un-Christian Christian," p. 80.

#### IV. LEADERSHIP AND STRATEGY FOR THE CHURCH IN THE RESOLUTION OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

It is difficult not to agree completely with William Stringfellow in his autobiographical polemic, My People Is The Enemy, that the churches of white society in America have largely forfeited any claim to leadership in the relations between the races and have simply followed the changes in the public consensus rather than attempted to understand racial and ethnic relationships in terms of Christian faith. Surely he is right in his claim that even the liberal churchman suffers from the mentality that still assumes that white men have the initiative in the racial crisis and the prerogative of determining the pace of the non-white's emancipation and the terms of his citizenship. One cannot help but agree that the basic strategy for church leadership is, as Stringfellow says, that

They must speak and act out of the depths of faith and not merely as those who follow the status quo, and not as those fearful of risking their reputations and possessions if they speak prophetically.<sup>26</sup>

However, leadership that goes too far ahead ceases to lead, no matter how right. Christianity in America can point with pride to those ministers and laymen who have left or been forced to leave congregations that have refused to open their membership to people of all races. But what of those who have labored simply to bring a few to the point of interracial contacts, those who feel that concession is better than abandoning leadership to the racist? At the risk of supporting the

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<sup>26</sup>William Stringfellow, My People Is The Enemy (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), p. 136.

gradualism that is the subtle ally of segregation, perhaps a means for eventual integration of churches can still be found. Certainly it must be said of many direct attempts to change attitudes and behaviour patterns that they have meant simply a mobilization of defensive personality functions and an intensification of original patterns.

The racist is the greatest challenge the church faces today in both the North and the South. He is the true adolescent of adult Christianity; the most unlovely and the most in need of love. Certainly the church must not tolerate what he stands for, but it must not abandon him in its attempt to force him to maturity.<sup>27</sup>

If politics can be defined as the "art of the possible," how important that a strategy for the church in ethnic and racial problems have a similar definition.

Though, as has been said, the Christian remedy for the racial problem must be something more than the endorsement of sociological axioms, nevertheless it is with the conclusions of proven group techniques that the church can begin. Experimental evidence now substantiates the common-sense hunch that attacks on strong prejudice tend to strengthen it and it becomes a symbol of in-group membership and loyalty. It also confirms the fact that changing the attitudes of groups rather than isolated individuals is the more effective approach for breaking up intergroup stereotypes and prejudices.

Robin William's study in The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions sets forth various factors in intergroup contact of which churchmen should be more aware. (1) Lessened hostility results from intergroup

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<sup>27</sup>Will D. Campbell, Race and the Renewal of the Church (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 24.

collaboration, personal association as functional equals working on common tasks, jointly accepted as worthwhile. Haselden points out that few churchmen distinguish between a love that prefers its own kind and Christian love that cannot concern itself with likes and dislikes.

It is not bigotry to prefer the company of those who share one's interests. It is not prejudice to seek those with whom one has natural feelings of congeniality.<sup>28</sup>

The factors that make for this exclusiveness are, of course, basic to the Protestant concept of the nature of the church. The voluntary nature of church attendance and membership, the democratic character of church policy and the social life of the church as a sign of its vitality are all factors in ethnic and racial integration with which Protestantism must contend. The hierarchical structure and sacramental character of Roman Catholicism give it an advantage where the hierarchy itself is progressive on the race issue. This is not apparently true of all episcopally structured churches. In their study of churches in the Little Rock school crisis, Campbell and Pettigrew reasoned that clergymen who headed congregationally structured churches would be less likely to take strong public stands on the segregation issue than those who headed churches which enjoyed the protection and support of bishops and superintendents. Though their sample was admittedly limited, they were surprised to find that the size of the church and its prestige in the community were more important variables. The real danger is that Protestants, confusing civil rights and social privilege, will accept a less worthwhile integration by admitting people to worship but not to

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<sup>28</sup>Haselden, op. cit., p. 59.

fellowship. Instead of personal association there is a great temptation to stress the ritual.

(2) Abolition of legal discrimination, though at the start productive of hostility, in the long run will reduce it.

Though even just laws cannot force friendship and brotherhood between men, just laws can create a cultural, political and economic order where such interpersonal relations have an opportunity to rise.<sup>29</sup>

Justice, however reluctantly afforded, creates the kind of social circumstances under which people of all races can meet as persons and thereby create the opportunity for love to emerge. It is as wise strategy, therefore, to seek to change laws which thwart racial justice as it is to seek to make the churches into fellowships where all can be one in Christ. Charles Silberman in his excellent Crisis in Black and White reminds that when the prophets of old spoke of justice, their commandment was not that one be just but that one do justice.

There has been far too much talk, for far too long, about the need to change men's hearts, about the difficulty of legislating morality. The truth of the matter is that men's hearts follow their actions at least as often as their actions follow their hearts.<sup>30</sup>

At this point churches must help their people to see that the practice of justice cannot be left to the courts and to enforcement agencies. Restaurants in formerly segregated cities must serve Negroes, but the quality of the justice involved is easily bled off by the contempt of the waitress and the white customers.

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<sup>29</sup>Kliever, op. cit., p. 1057.

<sup>30</sup>Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1965), p. 14.

Unless transformed by humility, human self-interest always has a way of twisting around the very conception of fair play so that justice falls short of a humane quality.<sup>31</sup>

And in the church itself, the practice of justice means a sincerity in welcoming people of all races and a recognition of the fact that having no "integration problems" may simply mean that the parish is serving a segregated neighborhood about which the church has done nothing. Likewise, denominations, mission boards, regional jurisdictions and churches must be willing to scrutinize their investment portfolios to see whether the enterprises in which they have holdings practice discrimination.

The most effective weapon in the racial crisis has not been legislation, or even court decisions, or demonstrations, or federal troops, but economic sanctions. When the white merchants of Birmingham began to feel the economic pinch because of racial disturbances, negotiations began between whites and negroes. When industry began to desert Little Rock, it began to modify segregation in public accommodations.<sup>32</sup>

The church also has the responsibility of trying to reach employers within local congregations, who may affect employment patterns in their respective industries. Above all churches must follow fair employment practices in hospitals, schools, and secretarial and clerical posts in local church offices. It is illogical to expect that institutional practices can be challenged by good will alone. In Montgomery, Alabama, within weeks of the settlement of the bus strike, Negroes and whites were riding beside each other without incident. As Professor Dan W. Dodson has written,

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<sup>31</sup>Sellers, op. cit., p. 180.

<sup>32</sup>Stringfellow, op. cit., p. 140.

Education without action is sterile. Action without education is fanaticism. One of the arts of churchmanship is how to lace the two together.<sup>33</sup>

(3) Direct arguments tend to present a sharp issue which arouses maximum resistance. Emphasizing common aims suggests group integration as a means for their attainment. Robbins feels that appeals to conscience or ethics are not effective with anti-ethnics and may result in increased hostility as a reaction to guilt feelings. Edward LeRoy Long in his concern for the self in conflict situations agrees that struggle intensifies the insecurity of the self even while seeking to establish its security. This applies equally to the crusader for civil rights and the die-hard segregationist. Misguided by zeal, men who take upon themselves to oversee the morals of their fellowmen often create more tensions and divisions. The manner in which a cause is undertaken is as important as the cause itself.

The brittle and the flexible...the one defends or effects an absolute right; the other detours around an intolerable wrong. Crusade or negotiation...theoretically they are in contrast, practically they are in tension, for liberal programs may be espoused with arrogance and conservative programs espoused with flexibility.<sup>34</sup>

Silberman chides James Baldwin for the rigid exclusiveness of his position when Baldwin speaks of the white liberal as the "affliction" of the Negro.

In Baldwin's cosmology there seems sometimes to be no decent white of any sort, and no way a white can prove his decency: If you are hostile, you are a racist; if you express friendship of

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<sup>33</sup>Dan W. Dodson, "Methodism in Confrontation: Racial Inclusiveness," Report of the Second Methodist Conference on Human Relations (Chicago: 1963), p. 10.

<sup>34</sup>Long, op. cit., p. 127.

sympathy, you are a fuzzy liberal, part of "the chorus of the innocents"; and if you commit yourself to action, this merely proves that you are a condescending white using Negroes to purge your own conscience, or trying to raise Negroes to your level.<sup>35</sup>

Though Baldwin claims to be consciously exaggerating in order to anger, certainly the anger that is generated in return is grit in the machinery of social change.

Favorable results in intergroup contact can be seen outside of the church in ritualized conflict or competition that cuts across ethnic lines. Sports are a prime example. It was less than twenty years ago that even sportswriters were predicting the destruction of big-league baseball because a Negro player was being brought up from the International into the major leagues. Today, there are few teams of any sport anywhere in the nation that do not include Negro players. In sports a man must be recognized for his ability. His success is a subtle but persuasive argument against prejudice and injustice.

The church could speak forcefully but without argument to its people by sharing its services and fellowship with non-white groups. Two such experiences impressed themselves upon this author. The first was the exchange of pulpits by ministers and choirs of a Negro and a white congregation in Southern California. Privileged to hear the Negro minister and choir, I could not help but be inspired by the sermon and thrilled by the music to the extent that, brought together officially, somehow we were brought together spiritually as well. The second, miles from the first, was the occasion of a performance by the

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<sup>35</sup>Silberman, op. cit., p. 190.

Bishop's Players of California in the churches and Community Theatre of Honolulu, Hawaii. One presentation was excerpts from Alan Paton's, Cry, The Beloved Country, in which a young Negro actor played the white father whose son had been killed. Kumalo, native pastor father of the accused murderer, was portrayed by one of the white members of the cast. Where appeals to conscience may not have affected the audience, this silent witness to equality was most effective. Of greatest meaning was the fact that no explanation was given of what at first seemed mis-casting. In just a few moments' time the beauty and the pathos of Paton's story changed both black and white into neutral colored empathy.

They come out of the Court, the white on one side, the black on the other, according to the custom. But the young white man breaks the custom, and he and Msimangu help the old and broken man, one on each side of him. It is not often that such a custom is broken. It is only when there is a deep experience that such a custom is broken... For such a thing is not lightly done.<sup>36</sup>

#### V. THE ROLE OF THE MINISTER

However, the temptation to allow the ritual to drain off the motivation for actual effort toward racial and ethnic integration is great for all churchmen, especially the clergy. Though they are no longer directly in the power structure of society, ministers are important to the environment in which decision makers must operate. Such was the conclusion of Ernest Campbell and Thomas Pettigrew in their excellent study of Christians in Racial Crisis, already mentioned. The dilemma of ministerial leadership, they found, was the dilemma of the

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<sup>36</sup>Alan Paton, Cry, The Beloved Country (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 198-199.

church in social action. On the one hand are the given ideals of the Gospel and on the other is the involvement of the church in the material interests of society. Their central finding was that the role of the minister as social reformer does not offer as significant rewards as other roles associated with the ministry. The minister is judged successful according to the maximum response and support of his congregation and its continued numerical and financial growth.

However exalted the moral virtue the minister expounds, the hierarchy does not wish him to damn his listeners to Hell unless somehow he gets them back in time to attend service each Sunday.<sup>37</sup> It is his role as manager of a religious enterprise upon which the minister is forced to base his self-image of his worth or success, rather than upon his willingness to speak the truth as he sees it on controversial issues. Steeped in the modern concern that relationships must be maintained at all cost, the minister is also vulnerable to "gradualism" in any effecting of change in attitude or behavior. The "priesthood of all believers" when applied to the need for social witness can be the minister's excuse for any real commitment on particular issues.

It is possible for an ambiguous cautious statement favoring law and order to become in the speaker's memory a forceful, impassioned condemnation of all things segregationist.<sup>38</sup>

The most meaningful conclusions, for the purpose of this study, to which Campbell and Pettigrew came are those which deal with the impact of the social characteristics of congregations on ministers. They

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<sup>37</sup> Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, Christians in Racial Crisis (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1959), p. 90.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

found (1) that the higher the socio-economic and educational level of the congregation the greater the freedom of the minister to defend and support integration values. This bears out the findings of the Social Science Research Council in their appraisal of programs in intergroup relations.

In general, only persons in upper groups have sufficient security to work actively for innovations in the direction of greater privileges for minorities.<sup>39</sup>

Opposition to ministerial leadership is the more likely the more direct the competition of the congregation with minority groups for jobs, for status, for community control. (2) The number of years that a minister serves a congregation is directly related to his ability to act and to speak contrary to its will. The strong, personal ties which the minister builds are the capital upon which he must draw when opinions differ. One proven technique is to prepare the congregation for a certain posture as to social issues. A congregation that expects a certain stance by the minister apparently reacts less negatively when his position differs from its own. (3) The more unstable the life of the congregation, the more turnover in membership and lay leadership, the more freedom the minister has to take unpopular positions. New members are more likely to turn to the minister than to lay groups for their perspective. Being aware of the feelings of his congregation, therefore, is wise strategy for the minister in meeting the challenge of social issues. However, because it does make for a successful and appreciated ministry is the

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<sup>39</sup>Williams, op. cit., p. 59.

very reason that the minister is more and more tempted not to initiate programs or ideas that differ greatly from the mood of his congregation. His career advancement depends on the type of response he obtains not only from his congregation but from the community. It is far more than self-seeking or desire for material gain that is involved here. The response people make to his ministry is the test of the minister's competence. His need is both psychological and institutional. If his message is no longer attractive, then he feels that he is no longer attractive to his people. Thus, at least for the ministers that faced the "racial crisis in Little Rock," it seems that those who are best equipped to take strong, unequivocal stands are those most vulnerable to the negative reactions of their congregations. (4) Ministers who frankly tell their congregations how they feel and what they intend to do about racial and ethnic integration before a crisis develops will prepare a climate in which their social action will be more acceptable. They may not like it, but being expected it will be more easily accepted when it comes. Apparently the 300 white ministers of 13 denominations in the Dallas area witnessing publicly to their belief that enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong precluded racial strife in that city. Campbell and Pettigrew drew their study to this conclusion,

that the forces underlying a basic 'Protestant dilemma' - a dilemma between the organizational concerns of money and members and the effective expression of principle - must be balanced before the Protestant church can be expected to realize in actions its pronouncements on race questions. This balance might be achieved by unified ministerial action, early, pre-crisis indication of sentiment, and the full use of moral sanctions.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Campbell and Pettigrew, op. cit., p. viii.

## VI. CONTEMPORARY RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAII

In many respects the "dilemma" between the ideal and the actual in race relationships does not exist in the Islands. For many years Hawaii's renown in the larger world has resulted quite as much from its peculiar potpourri of races and cultures and the resulting interaction among them as from its record in pineapple and sugar production, its reputation as a tourist attraction, or its role in the outbreak and prosecution of the war in the Pacific. The researches of social scientists over the past thirty years have in general confirmed the impressions among casual visitors of the unique social situation in which numerous ethnic groups - Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, Negroes, Samoans, and Caucasians - have lived together for decades with a minimum of the tensions and discords which have characterized most other areas of race and culture contacts. Romanzo Adams, Hawaii's leading social scientist to the time of World War II, spoke of this relationship as one of an accepted role of racial equality.

The characterization is vulnerable because, as in all places, disparity between profession and practice brings the charge of Pharisaism. However, what distinguishes the Hawaiian situation

is the existence in the Islands of a collective sentiment sufficiently rooted in actual practice so that the individuals and small splinter groups out of sympathy with the official code could not afford to express such deviant sentiments openly.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii Report No. 25 (January, 1959), p. I.

Discrepancies between code and conduct in race relations in Hawaii are easier to distinguish in the areas of occupation and business than in legal and social realms. The economic advantage of Caucasians before World War II placed them in a privileged class that all groups recognized, some took advantage of and many resented. The last two decades have witnessed a striking change in the relative positions of racial and ethnic groups with reference to one another. The demands for skilled labor during the war and the general boom in business that came in the 1950's gave opportunity for all groups to improve their economic position. By the 1960 census men and women of Oriental ancestry had outstripped the Caucasians in a significant number of professional and managerial occupations. Also obvious, however, was the fact that due to their over-proportion in the laboring and service categories the last immigrant groups to come to Hawaii, the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans, will require several decades to overcome their time handicap.

Another reflection of the change in commercial and business relationships has been the rise of non-Caucasians to managerial positions in Hawaii's interlocking organization of major economic enterprises.

The participation of Island-born men of Oriental ancestry in the direction of the plantations on which their fathers served as unskilled laborers a generation ago would have seemed quite outside the realm of probability to even the most optimistic observer of the Hawaiian racial scene twenty years ago.<sup>42</sup>

Knowing that their clientele will be drawn from a population which is more than half Oriental, mainland business firms seek out young men of Oriental ancestry for key positions. Though usually said in jest, it

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42 Ibid., p. 3.

is often claimed that it is now the Caucasians that are being discriminated against. As this report has already attempted to show, the rise of the labor unions in Hawaii has also been a major factor in the spread of economic gains. The post-war labor movement has been interracial in character, though due to the number of Japanese and Filipinos in the labor force, elected officials have been drawn chiefly from these two groups.

Complementary to the economic equality that exists across racial lines is the interracial and interethnic background of the elected and appointed officials of the Islands. The most interesting feature of this multi-racial political scene is that the election of local, state and federal officials is apparently based upon personal merit and party affiliation rather than racial or ethnic background. There is no tangible evidence of bloc voting in the Islands, though family and group pride are sometimes mistaken for racial favoritism at local levels. Another evidence of the acceptance of Hawaii's "code" is the little use that is made of political and legal instruments in affecting race and cultural relations. Hawaii's people apparently assume that the Island pattern is self-correcting. One major exception to this nonuse of political and legal devices has been the attempt to secure special benefits for persons of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian ancestry. The State Constitution, ratified in 1950, provides for persons with 50 per cent or more of Hawaiian blood to obtain special leasehold rights on urban homesites and agricultural lands.

It should be recalled that the pressure of foreigners to secure private title to land set in motion a process by which the Hawaiians, unfamiliar with Western conceptions of land,

were encouraged to sell their properties, generally to their economic disadvantage. The special concessions to present-day Hawaiians is doubtless, in part, an attempt to make amends for earlier indiscretions.<sup>43</sup>

A few private clubs in Hawaii are admittedly restrictive in their membership. Some residential areas are said to practice discrimination by means of a "gentlemen's agreement." Schools and organizations are believed to set a "racial quota" as a limit to size. Undoubtedly violations of the Island "code" do occur, but it is increasingly difficult to document such instances. The very fact that grievances are coming into the open is a healthy sign.

Formerly Islanders, particularly of Oriental ancestry, would have been too inhibited to express what they felt, and an increasing proportion of Mainlanders, put for the first time in the status of a racial minority, express themselves vigorously at any insult.<sup>44</sup>

The new confidence of non-whites is beginning to revive interest and pride in national heritage and custom. Island youngsters studying in mainland colleges write home for information about their antecedent cultures in a new spirit of discovery. Personal and social factors, therefore, rather than racial or ethnic problems seem to be in operation. "Old-country" institutions and practices are being broken down as citizens of all races come to maturity, speaking English only and being educated in thoroughly American schools. No longer is there need for public standard schools, a system of specialized education for children

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>44</sup>Andrew O. Lind, statement in a paper presented to the Civil Rights Conference of Hawaii, meeting at the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, and reported, Honolulu Star-Bulletin (August 27, 1965).

who could pass an oral English test, which, by its very nature, tended to eliminate the non-Caucasians. Perhaps the most striking index of interracial harmony is that of interracial marriage. In 1962 when the last study was made, 37.7 per cent of the marriages in Hawaii were interracial.

Among bridegrooms, 14.9 per cent of the Japanese married outside of their racial group, Caucasians (34.2 per cent), and the Hawaiians (84.9) and Koreans (71.4 per cent) married far more outside their race than in. Among brides, the rate was lowest for Caucasians (21.2 per cent), Negroes (22.4 per cent) and Japanese (25.2 per cent). It was highest for Hawaiians (84 per cent) and Koreans (76.6 per cent).<sup>45</sup>

Thus it would appear that in one area after the other, in public and private, barriers to equality are disappearing and Hawaii's ideals of racial and ethnic harmony are being translated into reality.

## VII. ETHNIC AND RACIAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE CHURCHES OF HAWAII

To the extent that Hawaii's people remain conscious of their racial ancestry in their day-to-day experience with their fellows, and that ethnic considerations enter into important economic and political issues in the community, it would be strange indeed if the areas of man's most intimate personal concerns relating to religion should somehow be immune.<sup>46</sup>

Ethnocentrism, being that view of things in which one's own group is the center and all others are scaled and rated in reference to it, is the attitude of which some churchmen of Hawaii are guilty rather than racial prejudice. This is the conclusion of the Public Affairs

<sup>45</sup> Robert C. Schmitt, paper prepared for Annual Meeting of Population Association of America, as reported in Honolulu Star-Bulletin (June 9, 1964), p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> D. Richard Neill, "Ethnic Considerations in Protestant Churches on Oahu," a report of the Public Affairs Committee to the Honolulu Council of Churches, January 15, 1965.

Committee of the Honolulu Council of Churches that surveyed 50 congregations on the Island of Oahu to determine factors that influence their ethnic composition and attitudes. Supported by personal interviews with 60 members of 13 of these churches, the data gathered represents a good sampling of present ethnic and racial considerations. Evaluations were done primarily by the chairman, the Rev. D. Richard Neill, and are used with permission. This represents the most recent, if not the only, estimate of race attitudes and opinions of Hawaii churchmen other than the survey made by this author.

The conclusions drawn from the study are, (1) Most church people in Hawaii do not openly display any strong feelings about race; they generally feel that "prejudice" is too strong a word; they do admit to "preference." There is little question that ethnic considerations do play a very important role in the selection of a home church, in loyalty to one's church, in the choosing of ministerial leadership, in the planning of church location and relocation and in the structure of church program. (2) Long-established ethnic churches have great difficulty attracting or reaching members of other ethnic groups, even when they so desire. Often the feeling is expressed that the primary task of the church is to minister to its own people or its "own kind." Newer churches of long-established denominations in Hawaii apparently have the best opportunity to reach a broader range of Hawaii's racial groups. Denominations most recently come tend to attract only Caucasians, most of whom were members of these denominations on the Mainland. (3) The conscious efforts of churches to broaden their ethnic base by such devices as the elimination of racial names or the securing of leadership

from other racial groups have not proved notably successful. Strong ethnic churches seem to be able to reach the cosmopolitan community by the attraction of their ethnic identity.

The study sought to determine the impact of various social factors on racial considerations. The most obvious of these is that of origins and language. The majority of Hawaii's churches were started as ethnic churches to reach a particular racial or language group. Even the congregations that have been founded in an overt attempt to break away from this ethnic identity have slowly become identified with the dominant ethnic group again. Language services tend to accentuate ethnic identification, divide the older from younger members of the church and discourage interracial membership, yet many churches continue to provide a language ministry for sentimental and identity needs. Churches with a traditional ethnic image tend to carry that identification even though they may be reestablished in areas lightly populated with that ethnic group or may continue in an area that is changing in its racial composition. The central city church of a major denomination newly arrived in Hawaii has made specific attempts to form an integrated congregation through interracial leadership and an interracial charter membership; however members have steadily shifted toward a Caucasian majority.

Location and relocation are also factors that affect the ethnic composition of churches, and are in turn affected by that composition. As traditional racial residential areas have disappeared, ethnic churches have less and less come to serve the parish in which they are located; and very few of them serve families in the immediate area who

are not of that particular racial or ethnic group. Virtually no church, city, suburban or rural, reflects a true cross section of the ethnic population in their community. It is interesting that in the move of city churches to suburban areas very little consideration has been given to broadening their ethnic base. Most have been concerned with how best to minister to their existing congregation. There are exceptions, however. One church, traditionally of a single racial group, erected a new structure in a redevelopment area near its original site. Realizing that the middle-income development area of which it is now a part serves a sizable Caucasian group of residents, it has called a Caucasian pastor and finds itself a growing church, serving not just two but many ethnic groups.

Both the survey and the interviews seemed to show that doctrine is the least important factor in regards to race considerations. Due to the diversity of religious groups in the Islands and the number of persuasions that can be found within one family such as Buddhist, Roman Catholic, Mormon and Protestant, doctrinal allegiances are not as strong as in other places. In general, the more ethnically oriented a church may be, the more conservative it is theologically, though this is probably more due to the educational orientation of the language pastor rather than to a doctrinal commitment on the part of the congregation. In most of the traditional, one-dominant-ethnic-group churches, evangelistic efforts are directed primarily to people of that racial group. Where there have been specific efforts to reach people of other races the results have been discouraging. Specific efforts are open to criticism; i.e., "Do you want me as a member or as someone who will

help to broaden your interracial image?"

It is in the area of program and youth activities that the most important steps toward truly integrated churches are being taken. Programs are not proof that a congregation is racially inclusive, but they are evidence that a congregation is concerned about the problem. Many churches in the Islands have terminated language services and are bringing young and old together in the experience of worship. Zone meetings have been developed which cut across ethnic lines and provide inter-family fellowship in addition to the worship hour. The primary hope of Caucasian churches in attracting other ethnic groups is through the Sunday school. Some have as high as 50 per cent of their students from Oriental homes; however many youngsters are there because Oriental parents want an American education for them. Where parents are not attending members, these young people are highly prone to "dropping out." Programs such as pre-school, campus work, summer fun, adult education, art classes, all are attracting response across racial lines. Interracial lay leadership in worship, coffee hours after services, family night suppers, all are effective in broadening the ethnic base of the congregation.

One factor helping to change the ethnic picture, and one which in its prevalence is peculiar to the Islands, is that of intermarriage, already discussed. Those who out-marry are apt to become members of more liberal churches. Though it is a fact difficult to document, it appears to this author through personal acquaintance that interracial couples tend to seek out the church as a fellowship offering acceptance and spiritual strength with which to meet the problems that they face.

By far the most strategic factor in consideration of the racial and ethnic composition of Hawaii's churches is that of leadership. The common assumption that an interracial ministry will produce an interracial church has resulted in as many failures as successes. Likewise, in churches where multi-racial staffs have been employed, the race of the senior pastor has tended to be the one of the dominant group. Many of those interviewed feel that the obvious attempt to form an interracial ministry is in itself a contrived effort to which most people do not respond favorably. Only as ministers are called regardless of their racial background will churches begin to reflect a truly interracial spirit.

#### VIII. OPINIONS OF HONOLULU CHURCHMEN AS TO EFFECTIVE STRATEGY IN DEALING WITH RACIAL AND ETHNIC INTEGRATION

As it applies to Island churches, therefore, integration is not a process of seeking to achieve multi-racial congregations in the face of cultural pressures, but is rather an accepted face of Hawaiian life which ought to be more reflected in Hawaii's churches in the face of cultural apathy. One question of the survey asked: Given the Hawaiian setting, do you feel that the problem of ethnic integration can be considered solved as far as your congregation is concerned? Why? What specific leadership is being given the members of your church in meeting this problem?

As this chapter has attempted to show, social and cultural factors rather than racial and ethnic considerations are the determining forces in Island society. That the present Hawaiian "scene" has simply

developed for historical reasons seems the concensus of Island minister and layleader opinion. They are almost evenly divided as to whether or not ethnic integration exists in their individual churches. Twenty-four ministers answered "yes" to the first portion of the question. Twenty-five answered "no." Five spoke of partial but growing integration. Among layleaders, 17 feel that integration is accomplished in their congregations. Twelve feel that it is not, and 3 that only partial integration has taken place. Opinion within denominations seems equally divided, except for the Baptists. Both ministers and laymen believe that integration is an accomplished fact in Baptist churches. It is this author's impression, based on observation and acquaintance through the years, that the conclusion is valid. As has already been mentioned, Southern Baptist churches which were established in the Islands after World War II were among the first to educate and to call Oriental pastors to interracial congregations. This has helped to continue the integration process, and these churches have every right to consider this problem solved.

It is in reading the explanations of Island churchmen as to whether they feel that ethnic integration has or has not been achieved that one can appreciate the unique nature of the interracial church in Hawaii. For example, the pastor of a rural Congregational church, formed by the union of a Filipino church and a Japanese church in the same plantation community, speaks of the integration of his people, though there are few if any families in his congregation who are not of these two races. On the other hand, the pastor of a university church which is famous for its interracial character answers the question:

"No. It is never solved as long as people in their insecurity need to feel superior to other people and to find racial reasons for doing so." Some feel that the question of integration lacks validity when applied to churches in the Islands. "Integration is not a problem in any of our churches here in Hawaii," writes the minister of a Baptist church that draws its people primarily from military families. Others feel that the question is crucial. The associate pastor of an established, "influential" congregation said: "There is a subtle and dangerous climate of segregation here in Hawaii. It isn't in the realm of the Civil Rights dispute, but, because of its disguise, this type of ethnic non-integration is even more deadly than the deep-south variety. No. Our problem is definitely not solved. Part of the problem comes from the peoples' unwillingness to see a "sore" spot in the midst of their paradise." Many share the opinion that integration claims are premature. The Caucasian pastor of a predominantly Chinese Episcopal parish writes that. "ethnic integration is being held in a dynamic stability by the fact of the variety of ethnic groups with no clear and powerful majority. We get along more because we have to than perhaps because we want to." A Methodist minister is more specific: "No. The Negro is not accepted in some homes. The chairman of our official board is a Negro, and his presence in this position is helpful."

Most respondents feel that, in contrast to other communities, Island churches are uniquely interracial, but that a greater and more meaningful ethnic integration can and must be achieved. The thoughtful answer of a Filipino minister who is concerned with new church development for his denomination is this: "Of all the states in the Union we

have the best chance to succeed, but some real work is ahead of us. I believe that until our people decide to worship in true neighborhood churches of their residence there will always be some form of 'segregation.'" A Lutheran pastor writes that his congregation is well integrated and that he senses no racial prejudice, but "it needs to sharpen its sense of witness to the community as we find it. That is, this question may largely be one of the church rediscovering her identity and mission, more specifically, problems that do exist are due, I feel, to cultural or ethnic differences in background and tradition, not prejudice. The failures are due to the church following the cultural guidance of the community instead of 'being the church.'" A Congregational minister who is heading up the inter-city and development work for his denomination in the Islands puts it: "All our churches need to continuously work at the problem of integration. Most of them still have a remnant of being cultural clubs and this will be overcome only as they self-consciously ask whether they are willing to work at being the church in which there is neither Jew nor Greek (racial), barbarian or Sythian (cultural), bond or free (economic)."

An interesting and continuing difference of opinion among Hawaii churchmen is to whether one aids or obstructs the cause of ethnic mixing by dealing with it specifically. Some, like the pastor of Honolulu's oldest and most famous church, believe that "the best race relations are where there are no race relations." This feeling is shared by the organizing minister of a suburban Lutheran congregation who feels that the witness of the church in Hawaii should be one consciously without regard to color, race or ethnic group. On the other hand, there are those who

feel that this assumption of integrated churches because of the inter-racial character of the community is part of the problem. As the Japanese pastor of a Methodist church in a new suburban interracial area puts it: "The church is open to all, but strangely as in all churches we have certain peculiarities. Caucasians who come from the South or who have not had much contact with Orientals see a sea of brunettes and have a tendency to find churches with more Caucasians. The last ethnic group that came (Tongan) had a hard time integrating so they now go to churches that have a group of Tongan people. The 'birds of a feather' idea still holds true." Another expressed the thought in these words: "In many ways people's affinity for 'blood relationships' is thicker than we think, and when this is misinterpreted, as indeed it has been, problems of integration result."

Answers from Christian sect and non-Christian ministers were similarly divided as to the extent of ethnic integration. Said one, "Yes, indeed! Because we have practiced the teachings of Christ. With the Lord as our Leader and His Holy Word as our Guidebook we have no problem whatsoever." The pastor of an independent church near the large Army post on Oahu gives an answer which in its very candidness betrays, to this author, a kind of "mainland" racial attitude. "There has been more resentment on the part of other ethnic groups to Negroes in the church, especially in official positions, than there has been on the part of the Caucasians, even though most are from the South. We have had two deacons at this church who were Negroes. Both have been rotated back to the mainland. We treat Negroes as fellow Christians without a place of their own to worship in this community and welcome them

as such. No issue is made of it nor any statements pro or con." The Jewish rabbi speaks of a few non-Caucasian participants in the synagogue program and of the fact that no problem of integration seems to exist. Perhaps the most interesting answer, because it points up the truth that prejudice is no respecter of persons or religions, is that of one of the Buddhist priests who speaks of a still existent segregation in Hawaii, not of Japanese from Caucasian, but of Japanese from Okinawan. Vestiges of this cultural separation that came with the contract laborers from Japan can apparently still be found in the different denominations of Buddhism in Hawaii.

Lay opinions are, for the most part, more optimistic than those of ministers concerning integration in Island churches. As has been seen, this is part of a general laymen's expression that social action in Hawaii's congregations is effective. Like the ministers, some feel that the problem is far from solved. "In certain ethnic groups one can sense the uncertainty of the individual; they feel they are not included in the fellowship program," says one. "No," says the layleader of a Lutheran church. "The problem is more than just ethnic integration. Our church seems to be for the comfortably situated. Incoming pastors do not remain long enough to grasp the whole problem. Neither do individual members in a predominantly 'Haole' church." A Presbyterian Elder, on the other hand, gives an unequivocal "yes." "From the pulpit down there is as happy a 'wedding' of ethnic and cultural backgrounds as is humanly possible. One minister is Caucasian, the other Chinese. The Boards of Elders and Deacons are liberally manned with Chinese and Japanese as well as Caucasians. There are Filipinos, Indians and a few

Negroes in our congregation and all are met on equal terms. This is a fact of which our church is justly proud." A Jewish layman gives a similar answer, but with added meaning, "Yes, with very few exceptions... The Jewish people have themselves felt and suffered humiliation and degradation because of their religion."

Both ministers and laymen mention specific ways in which ethnic integration is being achieved in their churches. Some are simply reflections of the racial mixing taking place in the Island community. Of greatest significance is interracial marriage. Couples of different races bring a natural integration into the church. Some congregations, however, are not as ready to accept mixed marriages as others. The pastor of an independent Disciples church writes: "While we have about as thorough an integration of Haole, Negro, Oriental, Filipino and Hawaiian in the life of our church, I would say there is the problem of integration in marriage. Just what the problem would be I don't know because we haven't come to it. We have integrated marriages among our congregation in every way except with the Negro. Some would strongly resist, very few would favor (if any), many would accept." Unique to Hawaii in this respect is the number of ministers whose wives are of races different than their own. Mixed marriages among Island clergymen are common to all denominations and, as one church executive pointed out in interview, are an important factor in sustaining the image of the church in Hawaii as truly interracial. Another reflection of community integration is the move to the suburbs and the subsequent breaking away from the older, language churches. A Congregational layman notes that in changing to an English service in addition to the service in Chinese,

his church has been able to attract people of other ethnic groups. It is interesting that his pastor, however, answers the question thus: "Our language services tend to keep some non-Chinese speaking away, but the Chinese language is a necessity in our ministry and has never been thought of as a device to keep others out."

Actual strategy to increase the ethnic integration of Hawaii's churches has taken many forms. The most common is the continued attempt to make congregations aware of the need to reach out across ethnic lines. A Japanese Episcopal priest serving a predominantly Oriental church answers: "Our people need to be freer in their relationships with other nationality groups. They are too reserved. Nothing is consciously being done about this, except that I encourage them to be more friendly with visitors and new faces in church on Sunday." A United Church pastor speaks of "openly inviting people of all races to join our congregation and of making an effort to integrate our people socially." Some ministers and laymen are quite realistic in their answers. A Presbyterian pastor says: "We keep our doors wide open to all. Some do not enter, but we would welcome them if they did." The minister of a Chinese congregation puts it: "While we welcome all races, we don't particularly feel that any ethnic group is especially eager to join our local church. Our largely Chinese membership includes Filipinos, Japanese, Hawaiians, Koreans and Caucasians who have joined us, largely through intermarriage." The layleader of a Japanese Methodist church gave the most practical answer. "We welcome people of any ethnic group to our church. However, there seems to be some hesitancy on the part of Haoles (Caucasians) to join us because of our predominantly Oriental

membership. We can only try to make these people welcome the best way we know. But we cannot force people to like us!"

The most overt attempt on the part of Island church leaders to increase the ethnic integration of their congregations is the deliberate selection or nomination of individuals from many racial groups to official boards and church committees. There is a reaction on the part of some that this artificial fixing of ethnic leadership is not a true commitment to the church's call for brotherhood and justice. Right or wrong, it is so much the accepted and expected pattern of public and private leadership selection in Hawaii that in this author's opinion the positive results far outweigh the negative. One denominational executive writes of carefully selecting interracial staffs for churches with single ethnic backgrounds. A Methodist pastor says: "In our church, we are trying to integrate our ushers, our choir, our Board, our Sunday School staff as much as possible, but it has to be done slowly." A Congregational layman speaks of the great care that is taken in his church by the moderator and nominating committees to see to it that no group is overlooked in the selection of responsibilities for leadership.

Both pastors and lay leaders seem to agree that the minister is the key to, as one Hawaiian clergyman put it, "a competitive or assimilative situation, a rejective or acceptive one." A racially inclusive attitude is probably easier for the minister in Hawaii than in any other place in America because of the tradition of integration that exists. His problem is one of combating lethargy rather than opposition. "We constantly question ourselves on this point, examine ourselves for unhealthy trends, seek sensitivity to social factors, like restrictive

renting practices or the prevalence of social clubs," is the way that one United Church minister keeps the need before his people. The Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Honolulu has a standing committee on religion and race that, as he says, "helps to educate and ventilate the problem." Three laymen answer that under the leadership of their pastors, open discussions of ethnic and racial concerns are being held and that the recognition of problems is contributing to their solution. Significant and exciting strides are being made in the integration of some Island churches. One answer, which this author knows to be autobiographical, is most encouraging. "This community represents 60% white and the other 40% all other racial groups. The church membership reflects this. The church has grown with the community. In 1962 when the minister, who was white, left, the church called a Japanese American, not simply because he was that, but because it believed he was the person it wanted. I believe it was an act of courage and faith. The relationship continues to be creative." Those, like the author, who know this congregation and its young pastor pray that someday all churches in Hawaii might be as creative not only in ethnic integration but in every opportunity for social action.

## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A

## QUESTIONNAIRE

Church Leadership And Strategy In Social Action

Your denomination: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of years you have been in Hawaii: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Who most frequently initiates social action programs in your church? Minister \_\_\_\_; Individual laymen \_\_\_\_; Church committee \_\_\_\_; Denominational committee \_\_\_\_; Interdenominational committee \_\_\_\_\_. What is your experience has been the most effective role (that which has gotten the job done) for the minister in social action? Leaving it primarily to laymen \_\_\_\_; Participation in democratic decisions made by a group \_\_\_\_; Taking the initiative by making program oneself \_\_\_\_.
2. How do you judge the following strategies, given reasonably efficient leadership, as to a church's social action program making an impact upon community life?

Very Effective	Moderately Effective	Ineffective
----------------	----------------------	-------------

- Church school instruction
  - Youth group programs
  - Resolutions by church boards
  - Public statements by individual ministers
  - Public statements by ministerial groups
  - Church participation in public demonstrations (sit-ins, marches, etc.)
  - Individual participation in public demonstrations
  - Writing or contacting public officials
  - Denominational conferences
  - Council of Churches conferences
- (Cross out any strategies on the list which you consider inappropriate for local church action.)

3. On which of the following issues should churches, denominations or councils speak or act publicly on behalf of their people, and on which should only the voice of the concerned individual be heard? (You may feel that all groups should speak publicly on a particular issue.)

	Indi- vidual Concern	Local Church	Denomi- nation	Councils of Churches
Fair housing covenants				
Sunday closing laws				
Strike threats				
Religious observances in public schools				
Medicare				
Endorsement of political candidates				
Pari-mutuel betting under state or county supervision				
UNESCO materials in public schools				
Tax exemption for church property				
Laws relating to birth control				
United Nations' recognition of Red China				
Beer consumption in public parks				
Supplemental aid to parochial schools (transportation, lunch programs)				
Revision of divorce laws				
Sale of obscene literature				

4. What have been the most significant accomplishments of your church in social action during the past two years? (In describing effective projects include, if possible, how they were started, principles used in carrying them out, outcome, etc.)
5. What additional leadership and what type of strategy in social action should denominational committees and Council of Churches committees give to local churches?

With particular reference to the church in Hawaii:

6. What strategy do you think is most effective for church, denomination and council in meeting a strike situation such as the one that prevailed in 1957?
7. Given the Hawaiian setting, do you feel the problem of ethnic integration can be considered solved as far as your congregation is concerned? Why? What specific leadership is being given the members of your church in meeting this problem?
8. What leadership and strategy should churches, denominations and council take in meeting problems created by groups on the political extremes of right and left?

9. Would you favor an Inter-faith (Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, etc.) Council or a social action committee of this group speaking or acting on social issues? Explain.
10. As you see it, are there factors peculiar to the church in Hawaii that influence church leadership and strategy in social action?

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ (if you wish)

## APPENDIX B

## LETTER OF EXPLANATION TO MINISTERS

March 26, 1964

Dear

I want 30 minutes of your "week after Easter" time. In the two years I spent with the Honolulu Council of Churches, and in my contact with Hawaii's congregations as a school chaplain to many of your young people, I have grown increasingly interested in the leadership and strategy of the Church as it faces the challenge of social action. In this time of rapid social change when crucial decisions are being made, I believe that Christianity in Hawaii, because of its unique ethnic and cultural background, has particular opportunities for leadership to the community in meeting social problems.

But, you who are seeing it first hand can say better than I what that leadership is and what its strategy ought to be. With your help I hope to submit a significant doctoral dissertation on a study of social action in the churches, denominations and inter-church and inter-faith councils in the City of Honolulu.

Would you give as much thought as you possibly can to the enclosed questionnaire, and, in order that I might contrast minister and layman, would you send the second copy to the moderator, chairman or president of your official board. I want to come up with something that will be helpful to us all, but I can't do it without your help.

Many thanks,

The Rev. Kenneth O. Rewick  
Chaplain, Punahou School

Address, So. Calif. School of Theology  
153 W. Green St.  
Claremont, Calif.

P.S. Please do not feel that you must limit your answers to the space provided.

## APPENDIX C

## LETTER OF EXPLANATION TO LAY LEADERS

March 26, 1964

Sir,

The pastor of your church has kindly consented to send on to you this questionnaire as to the leadership and strategy of Hawaii's churches in social action. In my work with the Council of Churches, and in my years as a school chaplain to many of your young people, I have grown increasingly interested in this area of the church's life and have chosen it as a dissertation topic for my graduate work. Because of its unique ethnic and cultural background, I believe that Christianity in Hawaii has particular opportunities for leadership to the community. But it is both minister and layman opinion that I need in order to put together some conclusions that could have meaning for us all.

Would you give as much thought as you can to the enclosed questions and would you return them to me as soon as possible.

Many thanks,

The Rev. Kenneth O. Rewick  
Chaplain, Punahou School

Address, So. Calif. School of Theology  
153 W. Green St.  
Claremont, Calif.

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